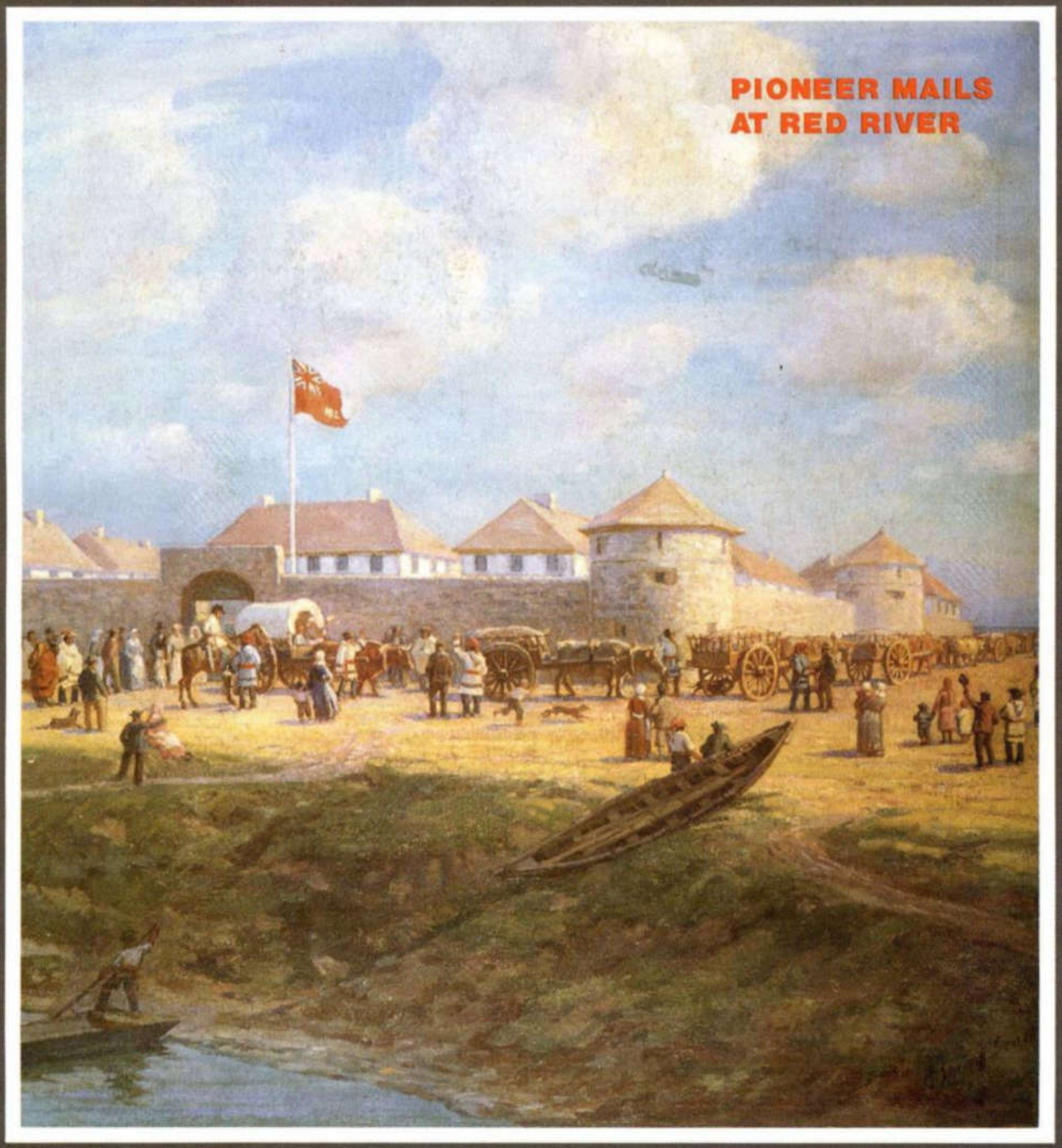
October/November 1986
$3.50

The Beaver

EXPLORING · CANADA'S · HISTORY



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Last Dog Train Leaves Lower Fort Garry, 1909. Painted for HBC by Charles F. Comfort.

Christmas with The Beaver

The December/January issue of *The Beaver* will be a special Christmas Number with a variety of rich treats for the Yuletide season. Included on the menu will be an article by the editor on festive eating at Canadian frontier tables, a northern ghost story, memories of Indian poetess Pauline Johnson and an account of a Stanley Cup disaster, circa 1905. Enjoy an old fashioned Christmas in the pages of *The Beaver* for December/January, going to press in late November.

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Red River Carts Leaving Fort Garry, 1863.
By Adam Sherriff Scott.

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Keeping In Touch

Pioneer Mail Services Ended The North-West's Long Isolation

BY RUTH M. BUCK

In the Januarys of two successive years, 1849 and 1850, Norman Kittson wrote from Pembina to his partner at Mendota: "This will be handed to you by Francois Rienville whom I send express for any letters or papers there may be in the post office either for myself or any person of the Settlement of Red River."

Those were years of particular significance — at Red River, where the dramatic climax to Guillaume Sayer's trial raised the exultant shout, "Le commerce est libre!" — and in Minnesota, created a territory by Act of Congress, with its provisional capital St. Paul, numbering a population now of one thousand. From Pembina, as gateway to trade with Rupert's Land, Norman Kittson's political influence was apparent. He was appointed representative on the territorial council, magistrate, and postmaster too, when "Kittson's Express" became the official service in 1850.

Such recognition was not immediate at Red River, though in July that year the Council of Assiniboia, meeting at Fort Garry, agreed . . . "that a sufficient sum from the public funds be appropriated for sending an express from hence with letters for England, via St. Peter's, or the nearest post town, the bearer to bring back all letters and newspapers for the Settlement."

This would have put mails from the settlement to Pembina and return on an official basis, and the motion was in line with the policy of the HBC Northern Department as early as 1836, as well as with Simpson's intention as understood by Governor Christie in his letter of 1847: ". . . and it gives me much pleasure to observe that you have now taken measures for establishing the communication (between this country and Canada and England) on a footing that will ensure as much frequency and regularity as can be desired".

The Minutes of Council, however, for September of 1850 noted only that "the President observed that in his conversation with Sir G. Simpson, he, Sir George Simpson, had informed him that £200 would be requisite for the intended communication and, if the Council of Assiniboia would deposit that sum, he would ensure them six opportunities of correspondence with Europe. After some conversation the motion was cancelled." No explanation beyond that is given, but it is possible that the purpose of the original motion would have been lost with the mail service still under the control of the Company. Or it may have been that the Council of Assiniboia, having made the gesture, was satisfied to let the matter drop, as too costly a venture.

To the majority of the settlers, it would make little difference, accustomed as they were to incoming and outgoing mails only twice a year. To those leaders of the settlement who were resourceful and independent traders it was important to have more frequent communication with the outside world, and a postal service that was not under the mandate of the Hudson's Bay

Norman W. Kittson: Kittson's Express, 1850.

Company. As early as 1853, these men had their own arrangement with the Pembina post office, and James Sinclair acted unofficially as their postmaster for those months before he made his second and fateful mission to the Oregon, and was killed in March 1856 in a sudden attack of insurgent Indians at the Cascades.

Letters from Red River were carried sometimes no farther than Pembina to make connection with the outgoing eastern mail in the United States, but from that post office the service was so irregular in the 1850s that the runner usually had to go to a more distant point to make contact, sometimes as far as St. Paul, sometimes to Fort Ripley where a post office opened in 1851, or to Crow Wing where one opened in 1852, near the confluence of that river with the Mississippi. This was the woods trail, which branched off from the east plains trail about midway, after crossing the Wild Rice River, and swung more east and south towards St. Cloud, where it crossed the Mississippi to rejoin the east plains trail to St. Paul. It was the safest of the trails during the years of Sioux warfare.

Some details of the arrangements made by Red River people for their mail service appear in letters that were

written to James Ross, when he was a university student in Toronto. He was the son of Alexander Ross and forty-five letters addressed to him are included in the Ross papers, in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba. The first was from his oldest brother, William Ross, telling of the likelihood of a regular monthly mail from the settlement: "We have subscribed the sum of £60 to aid the Yankee to carry the mail for one year. Adam Klyne is to make the first trip. He starts tomorrow and is moreover likely to get the contract." The letters, dated 4 November, reached St. Paul on the 28th and Toronto on 16 December.

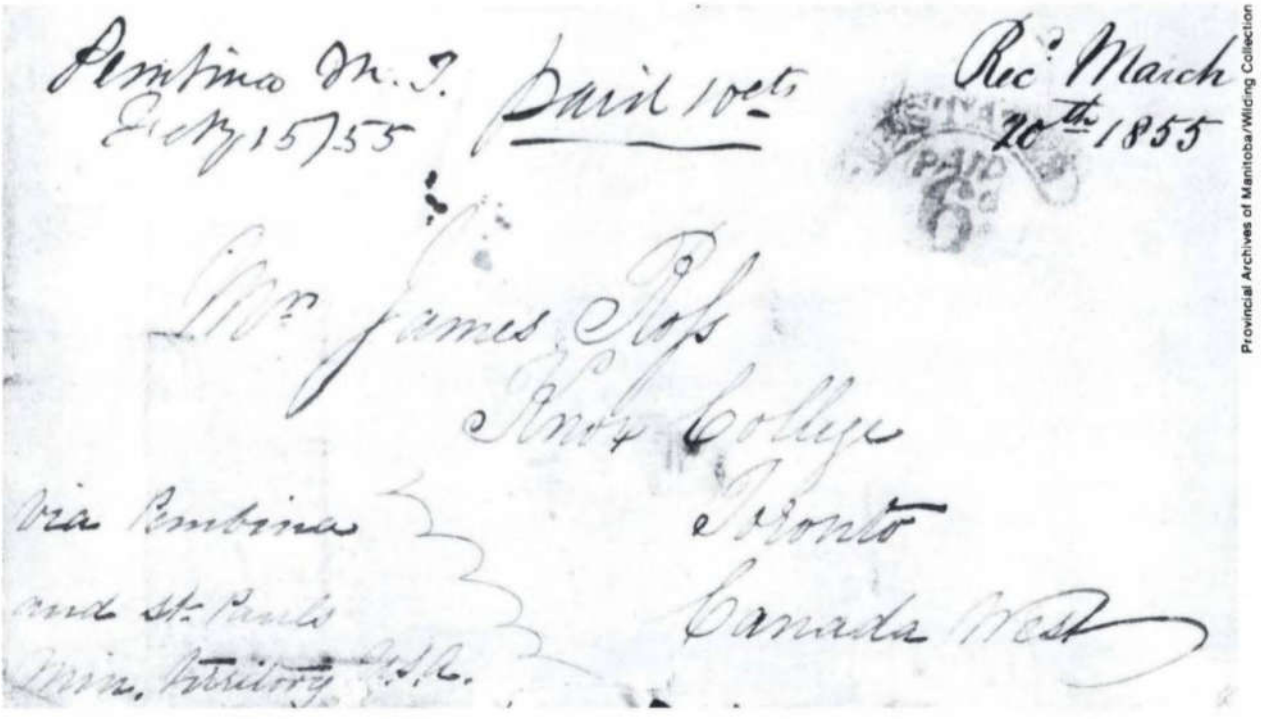
Most of the letters to James Ross were sent through the United States, but a few were carried by the Company packets, either to Lachine or to Sault Ste. Marie, according to the postmarks, and there placed in the regular mails. One is marked Mosa, U.S., the former name for Wardsville, the western "end of steel" in Upper Canada in 1853. From Sault Ste. Marie, the letters went by Lake Huron, Barrie, and Penetanguishene in winter, or in summer by Collingwood Harbour.

Two letters among the Ross Papers were sent "Via Pembina" in 1854, while the two addressed to Alexander Ross from England in 1849 were sent by York Factory. The latter would still require no more detailed an address than a letter dated May 1823 from Helmsdale in Scotland and sent simply to: "Mr. Sutherland, Red River or Elsewhere, North America."

The change brought about by the Minnesota route is illustrated in a memorandum issued 17 April, 1858, at headquarters in Monteal, from the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Canadian Rifles, stationed then at Fort Garry. This read: "Any letter going to Pembina is certain to come on to Fort Garry. The words 'via St. Paul & Pembina' it appears are necessary or letters, as many have done, take a long time to reach their destination. The words 'Red River Settlement & Hudson's Bay Territory' I am informed are superfluous and incumber the address."

Through the winters of 1853 and 1854 the settlers raised the money that was required — £60 each year — to make five trips to St. Paul. All letters were prepaid in American postage, and subscribers who were late in making the payment "could not send a letter under 5/." The second year, the carrier was Roger Goulet, who was to carry the Red River mails to Pembina for many years. He lived at Scratching River (now Morris) about forty miles south of Fort Garry, and at the river crossing kept "an apology for a tavern and a ferry."

Early in 1855, the Council of Assiniboia recognized the settlers' mail service by way of Pembina, and appointed William Ross postmaster. The office was in the log house that he had built for his home, and mail dispatched from there bore the manuscript postmark "Red River, B.N.A." When the Governor and Council met in the Court House at Fort Garry on 27 February



Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Wilding Collection

1856, Ross presented his "Account of Newspaper, Books, Letters &c, sent and received at the Red River Post Office from March 1855 to February 1856":

Total of 2.437 papers; 2,821 letters; 580 parcels.

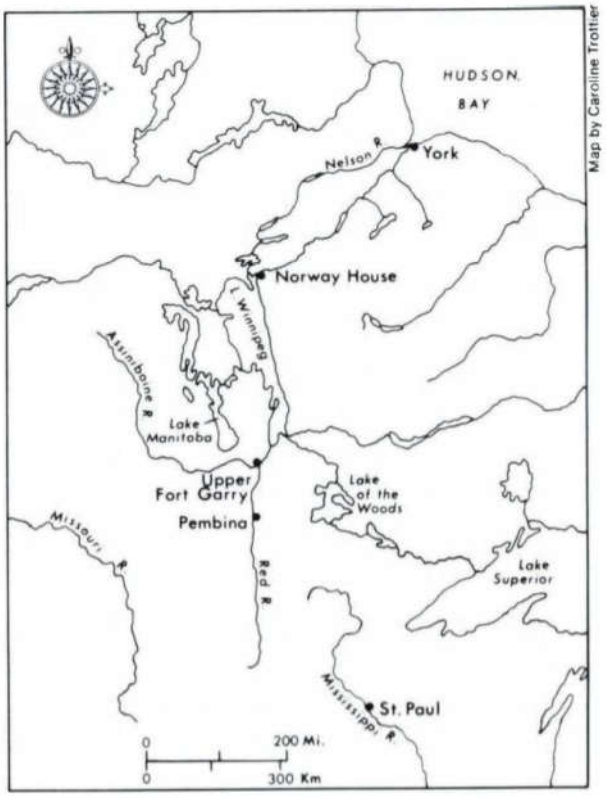
Postage U.S.	£62	13s	8½d.
R.R.	£47	17s	1½d.
Total	£110	10s	10 d.
Roger Goulet carrying mail	£16	13s	4 d.
Postmaster's salary	£5		

It was moved "that the statement of accounts presented by Postmaster Ross be received, and that a monthly mail between this Settlement and Pembina, established on the 27th. of February 1855, be continued for another year, and that Mr. Wm. Ross be continued as Postmaster at the salary of £6 per annum."

To have postal service on a monthly basis, even as far as Pembina, was something of an achievement for the Red River Settlement, however uncertain that connection with the United States postal service might prove. Pembina remained simply a trading post, and in the Metis settlement there were few who could read or write. Very little of the mail that passed through the post office was, in fact, for residents of Pembina. The postmaster, it was recalled years later, "would take out . . . (his) little portion . . . and then forward the balance to Fort Garry Selkirk Settlement Hudson Bay Territory."

When J.J. Hargrave wrote his history of those years, he had another interpretation of the "portion" removed from the "way bags" before the introduction of "through bags" from St. Paul in 1864. "The entire contents", he wrote ". . . were examined at every prairie farm house on the route which served as a local post office. At the majority of these places there lived reading men whose enlightened curiosity led them naturally to inspect the English, Canadian, and American newspapers passing through their hands. An Illustrated London News, a Punch, or other pictorial sheet, offered irresistible attractions to lovers of art, while a well-written editorial commended itself very forcibly to the attention of the Backwoods politician. The 'postmaster's privilege' of inspection was much abused, and a newspaper temporarily abstracted from the bag at every second or third station, effected a serious modification in the size of the mail when it reached its journey's end. Such proceedings led to considerable delay in the receipt of interesting mail matter, and in many cases to its actual loss, the papers detained being mislaid and never forwarded at all. Even letters were believed to have been lost, though it must be asserted that, on the whole, these have been delivered throughout with wonderful regularity, when the ordeal through which they have passed is considered."

In 1857, when Captain John Palliser made his exploratory survey of the West for the British Government, he noted: "We also visited the American fort on the river Pembina, where it joins the Red River. It is an insignificant collection of a few wooden huts. It is here that the post office for the Red River Settlement and other parts of the Hudson Bay Company's territories is established, as the further conveyance of letters from this place is entirely a private act at the expense of the company and forms no part of any postal system. The arrangements for the safe and speedy delivery of letters did not seem at all suitable to the magnitude of the concerns which are committed to the care of the person in charge. The postmaster himself was off to St. Paul's and the sole charge of attending to postal matters is deputed to his wife, a half-breed woman, who speaks no language but her native Indian. On asking if there were any letters for us, we were answered by having the whole collection of letters given to us to look over and examine ourselves."



Henry Youle Hind's expedition for the Canadian Government was made in that same year of 1857, and he came by Pembina on his return to the east in September. "Our course", he wrote, "lay on the east side of the river, through a beautiful level prairie studded with willow bushes . . . Very perceptible change . . . next day approaching Pine or Tamarac River . . . Near Pine River (14 October) we met 'The Mail' borne on the

Provincial Archives of Manitoba

Post Office, William Ross House, Fort Garry.

back of a half-breed, who was accompanied by a boy 15 or 16 years old, carrying the blankets and cooking utensils. The mail-bearer was ill, and had not eaten food for two days, having been longer on his journey than he expected. He had no means of killing the prairie hens which were so abundant on the trail, and which might have provided him with food. He carried the mail in a large leather bag by means of a strap passing round his head; he was poorly clothed, wet, and miserable, and had been 15 days coming from Crow Wing. We gave him some buffalo meat and pemmican, on the strength of which he hoped to reach Pembina in two days."

The need for such exploratory surveys as those undertaken by Palliser and Hind became apparent when the British House of Commons appointed a Select Committee "to consider the state of those British Possessions in North America which are under the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company, or over which they possess a licence to Trade." The union of the two great companies in 1821 had added to the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly in Rupert's Land an exclusive licence to trade in all those territories of British North America opened by the explorations of the North West Company. That licence was to end in 1859, and the monopoly of the older Company, though upheld by law, had to be reviewed.

The British Government had been frequently reminded that the Company's rule was not undisputed, in particular by free-traders and by the Metis with their claims as a distinct people in the North-West. Across the border, the expansionist movement urged American annexation of Rupert's Land, and dwelt upon the natural flow of communication and trade north and south, encouraging any dissatisfaction with the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company. In Canada, an equal emphasis upon expansion westward recalled the days of the powerful North West Company when it was based in Montreal, with an effective system of communication through the very country now considered impassable.

In his report, Palliser strongly urged that a Canadian road be built by the Lake Superior route. It would be a most difficult and expensive undertaking, he recognized, and with no assurance that the road could be an all-weather one. Yet without that road, he believed that political union of all British North America would be impossible. This view was supported from Canada as well, and Simon J. Dawson, as civil engineer with the Canadian expedition, spent two years surveying the route to which his name would be given.

The fact of the geographic bond of the Red River Valley however was only more apparent in the strengthening regional economy along the course which linked the Territory of Minnesota and Rupert's Land. The symbol of this trade at the start had been one small brigade of Red River carts, and their unexpected appearance at St. Paul had brought visions, even in 1844, of a great commercial empire that the enterprising might wrest from the Hudson's Bay Company.

Steamboat traffic up the Mississippi increased immediately. By 1847, four or five boats were running regularly between Prairie du Chien and Mendota; and that same year, a boat went every week from Galena to St. Paul. Then the service increased to three times a week. By 1851, service was direct from St. Louis to St. Paul; and the next year, daily from Prairie du Chien. As the traffic developed, competition between steamboat lines reduced freightage charges, and the frequency and speed of boats improved, until during the season of river traffic in 1858, sixty-two steamboats made 1,000 voyages up the Mississippi to St. Paul, which was becoming a commercial city of considerable stature, largely because of its growing trade with Rupert's Land.

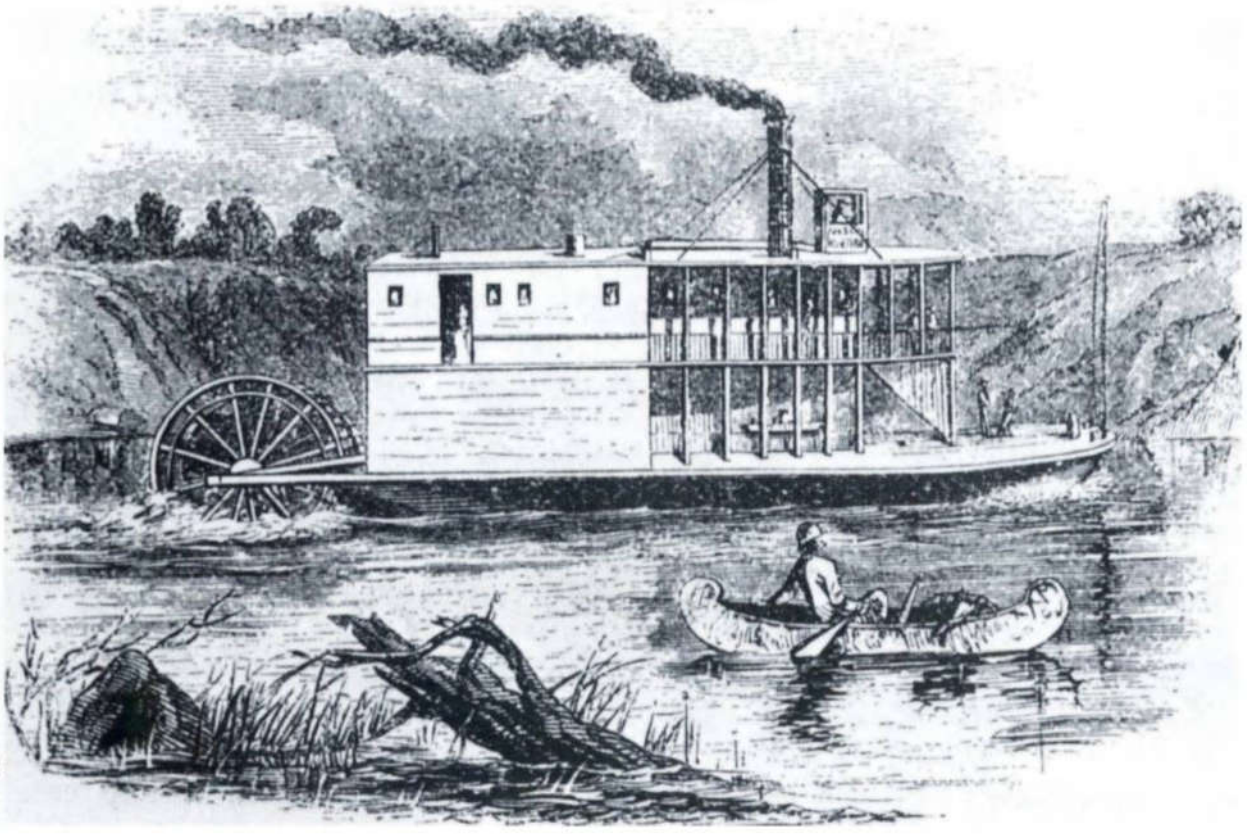
In 1855, Governor Simpson estimated that 400 carts, each with a capacity of from 500 to 800 lbs. had been required to carry away the furs exported by private traders from Red River to Minnesota. A St. Paul newspaper editor estimated the value of that traffic at $40,000. A year later, both estimates were doubled; and in 1857 doubled again. Simpson himself may never have realized the exact dimensions of the free trade movement, nor the volume of trade with St. Paul, but he did know that both were beyond his control and much too large for complacency.

At Fort Garry, brigades of Red River carts and York boats were the measure of trade, but in the world beyond, the growth of railroads was more amazing than even the appearance of steamboats far up the navigable rivers of the West, and transportation was changing swiftly. In the summer of 1852, the Michigan Central Railway had reached Chicago, and was moving westward. Within a few years, still other railway lines advanced towards the Mississippi, and stage-coach service was almost at once available from end of steel to river port. Then the failure of Jay Cooke's great banking company precipitated the Panic of 1857, with its resultant depression. Not until after the suppression of the Sioux uprisings, and the end of the Civil War, could railway building resume its race to the Pacific North-West.

Meanwhile, Sir George Simpson had remained resolute in his opposition to the Minnesota Route as any threat to the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company; and York Factory continued to labour under increasing demands from Red River and larger indents of goods to compete with American traders. At the same time, it was becoming increasingly difficult to engage crews for the long arduous work of the boat brigades.

The final test for the York Factory route came in 1857, when a third military garrison had to be trans-

The Anson Northup, Red River, 1859.



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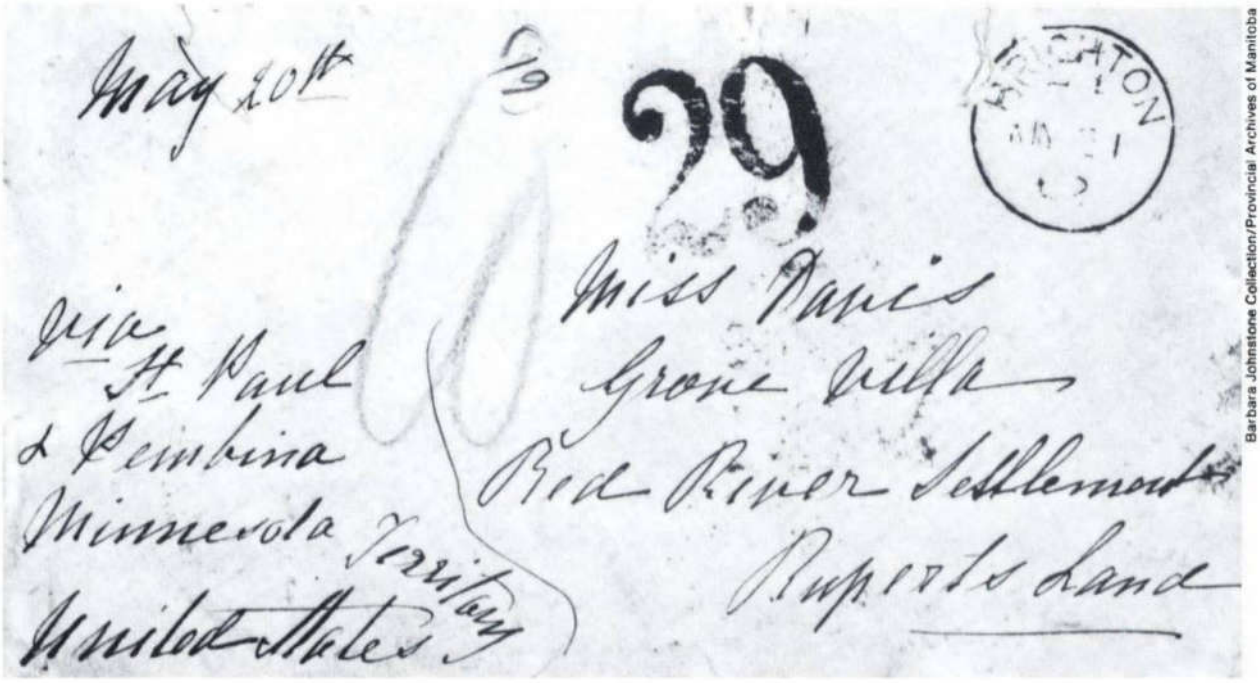


Barbara Johnstone Collection/Provincial Archives of Manitoba

"The marvel of steamboat navigation had come to the North-West and the Red River Settlement's long isolation was ended."

ported to Red River. This was again on Simpson's urging, when it appeared that a military post was to be established by the American Army at Pembina. The British Government was persuaded that a garrison at Red River was essential as a counterpoise to the growing influence of the United States.

This time, however, it was judged wiser to send a force of the Royal Canadian Rifles instead of a British garrison regiment. In June, some one hundred and twenty officers and men sailed from Quebec to York Factory, arriving there late in September, and reaching Red River in October. Three times that number of men had been transported by York boats to Red River in 1846, and trade commitments fulfilled as well. In 1857, it proved impossible to complete the year's shipment of trading goods, and the breakdown of the old system was clearly evident.

Simpson had to agree, though still with reluctance, to a trial shipment of about forty tons of supplies by way of St. Paul to Red River in 1858. The experiment was entirely successful, freightage charges some thirty-five percent less than by York Factory, and with a saving in time as well. After that first year, when New York was the port of entry, goods were shipped to Montreal from England, and then by rail and water, via Collingwood, Milwaukee and La Crosse, to St. Paul. From there, the overland journey was by cart train, but in 1859 the first steamboat made its voyage down the Red River to Fort Garry. The marvel of steamboat navigation had come to the North-West, and the Red River Settlement's long isolation was ended. ♦

Historian Ruth M. Buck is working on a book on pioneer mail services in Western Canada of which this article forms a chapter.

The Pioneer Spirit

A Memorable Adventure in the B.C. Wilderness

BY IAN WILSON

There is a pioneer spirit which has lured settlers to the north country since the early days of Canada. Trappers, fur traders, and prospectors headed north seeking their fortunes in furs and gold, then cleared small homesteads and built log cabins in the wilderness.

It was this pioneer spirit which lured Sally and me to northern British Columbia. For years we dreamed of living off the land and building our own hand-hewn log home as the pioneers had done. We finally left the city in June 1983 to relive the challenge and adventure of the early settlers and homestead in a remote wilderness.

The lake we chose for our fourteen-month sojourn is only a small blue speck on the map, hidden among mountains, rivers, and forests in northern British Columbia. Hottah Lake is eighty-five air miles east from the nearest settlement of Dease Lake, B.C., and 120 miles below the B.C.-Yukon border. There is no trail to Hottah Lake, and few people have ever visited this remote mountainous area.

We chose Hottah Lake because it lay in virtually unexplored wilderness. The closest that fur traders had ever come to this isolated valley was the Stikine River, thirty miles to the south, after a Hudson's Bay Post was established down river in 1840. Twenty years later the promise of gold on the Stikine brought prospectors to the North, but few explored past the upper reaches of the river. Even the Tahltan and Iskut Indians rarely visited this remote lake which they called "Big Moose Lake."

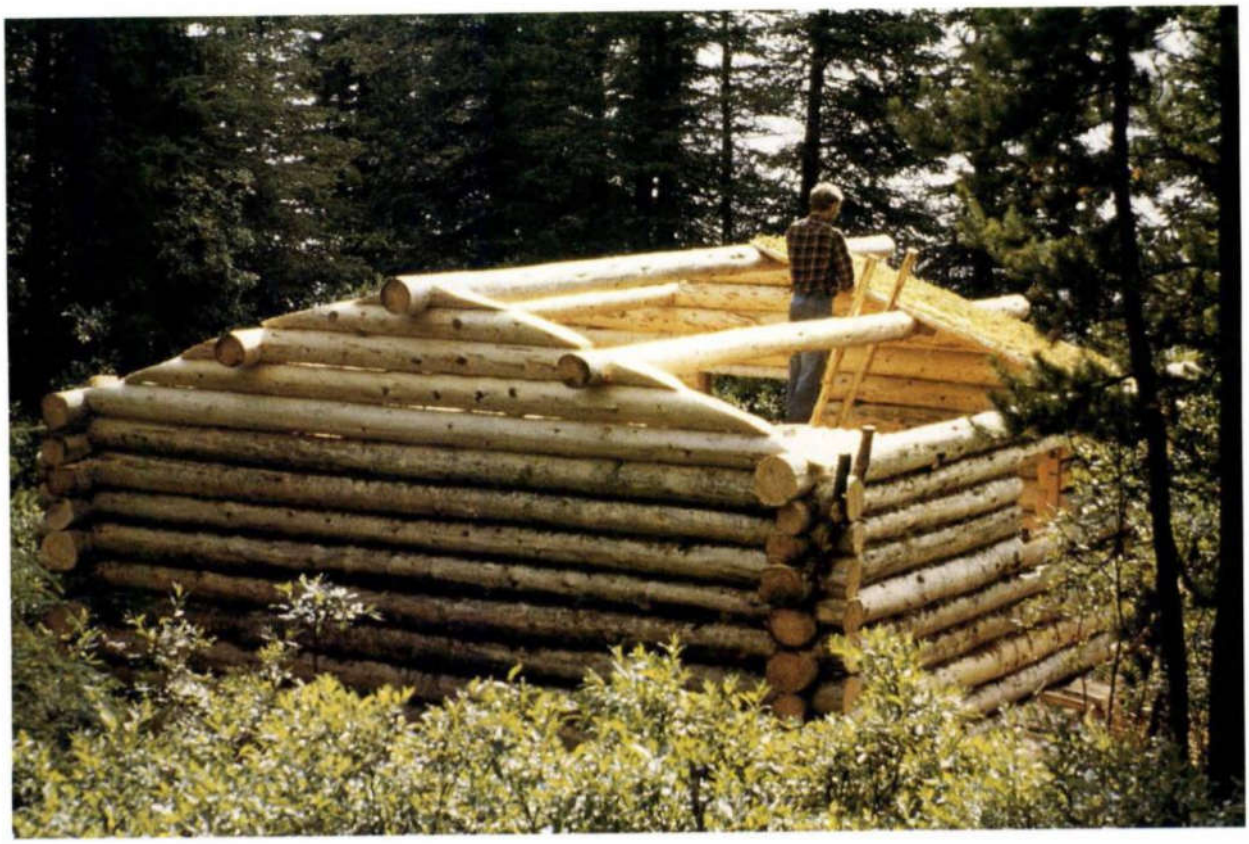
On 13 June 1983 we loaded the first of four plane loads of provisions and gear into a small Beaver floatplane at a lake near Dease Lake. We had travelled 1,100 miles north in search of wilderness, and now were being flown deep into mountain country that we had only seen on maps. We flew over spectacular snow-clad mountains, bright green valleys, and braided silver rivers, then descended to a small emerald green lake. This was to be our home for the next fourteen months.

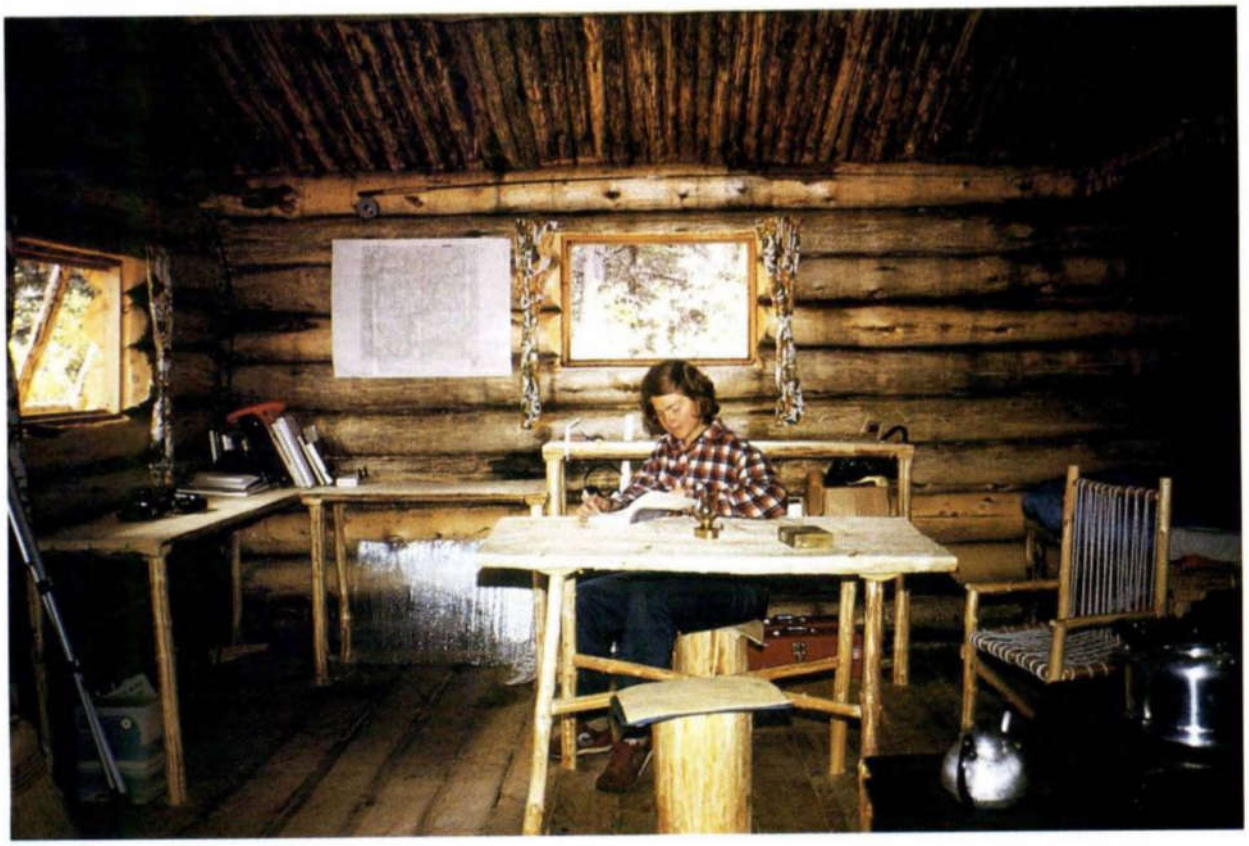
We unloaded our gear onto a small sandy beach which perhaps no person had ever before stood on. As the floatplane roared away we felt mixed emotions of excitement and apprehension. Hottah Lake was all that we dreamed it would be, but we suddenly felt all alone, far from the safety and comforts of civilization. We now knew what it must have been like to be an early settler in the North, thousands of miles from home.

Sally and I explored along the lakeshore and found an ideal cabin site only half a mile away. It was a small clearing near a gurgling mountain stream, sheltered by tall pine trees. We visualized our front window looking out over the lake to the rugged mountains beyond, and quickly agreed this would be the location of the cabin.

Our first week in the wilderness was spent setting up camp, building a food cache, and clearing land for the cabin. An eight by ten foot cabin tent was our home for the summer, and a tarp shelter was our kitchen, dining room, and workshop while we worked on the cabin. Our first priority was to build a food cache. In a wild country of grizzly bear, wolf, and wolverine it was important to store food away from camp and out of animals' reach.

We borrowed an old Yukon trapper's design for our food cache. First, we found a close group of four trees and cut them off twelve feet above the ground. Then we delimbed and peeled the standing poles and built a platform of small logs on top to store food boxes.





Sheets of metal tacked around the support poles kept animals from climbing up to the supplies.

Only a day after we had completed the cache, a grizzly bear wandered into our camp. He was massive. His deep growls and bristling fur warned us that he was not happy about our presence. This was his territory. Many tense minutes passed as we stood frozen with fear, then the bear tramped away. The thin walls of our canvas tent were little comfort to us that evening.

We had barely recovered from the fright of our first grizzly encounter, when a loud crashing outside the tent woke us early the next morning. We cautiously peered out of the tent door, and looked up into a pair of large brown eyes — a curious moose was only ten feet from the tent. The bull moose stood placidly, munching on willow shoots, then slowly wandered into the forest. We were fortunate that it was not rutting season, when moose are unpredictable and aggressive.

Having built our food cache we began felling the sixty large pine trees needed for the cabin. Once a tree had been felled, Sally chopped the branches off with an axe while I peeled the bark and cut the tree to length. Hauling the logs to the lake shore was back-breaking work, with Sally and I working side by side pulling on a length of chain. We then towed the logs behind the canoe to the cabin site.

Mosquitoes bothered us constantly while we worked in the bush. Early settlers protected themselves with a foul mixture of bear fat, pine tar, and citronella, but we used liberal coatings of bottled insect repellent. Bugs tormented us by day, and our muscles ached at night, but we felt a strong sense of accomplishment — we had learned much about ourselves in these first weeks, and met the challenges of pioneering in the wilderness.

After three weeks we had all the logs stacked and ready to build our sixteen by eighteen foot cabin. We notched and placed four base logs, then built a floor by cutting logs in half lengthwise and laying them flat side up on the base logs. Even with the chainsaw it was a tedious task, but we consoled ourselves with thoughts of the pioneer days of handsaws and hardships, when Klondike settlers had used six-foot whipsaws to cut green logs into planks.

Although many pioneer cabins were small drafty shelters which had been rough-hewn with an axe, we carefully notched and fitted each log with chainsaw and chisel to make a warm and draft-free cabin. We took great care trimming between logs, and filled gaps with sphagnum moss from the forest floor. As the walls of the cabin grew higher we felt a real sense of satisfaction and achievement in building our own log home.

Camp chores kept us busy between building projects. We often spent our mornings splitting firewood, sharpening tools, or doing laundry or baking. Laundry was a long procedure left for sunny days. First we heated buckets of water over an open fire, then washed and rinsed the clothes. Our washing machine was a toilet plunger and bucket; 100 plunges on wash cycle and 200 plunges for rinse cycle.

Our first effort at bread baking was a failure. Sally did everything according to the recipe, then set the bread in the sun to rise. But she hadn't counted on a weasel trampling and sampling the dough before it rose. The old northern recipe for bannock, a heavy bread of flour, water, baking powder and lard, was much easier to make and became our mainstay for the summer.

By mid-August we had raised the last of the wall logs using a small hand winch and tripod of sturdy poles. We hoisted logs up for the gable ends, then came to the most difficult and challenging part of building the cabin: lifting the roof support beams into place. It took teamwork and all of our combined strength to raise the 400 pound logs into place using only the small winch, muscle, and sweat.

The short northern summer neared its end by late August. Birch shrub and willow became blazing orange and yellow, and the fireweed, red currant, and blueberry bushes turned to brilliant red. We sped our efforts to complete the cabin as temperatures dropped and new snow capped the peaks above us.

Two hundred poles laid side by side along the roof support beams, then covered with moss and roofing paper, completed the cabin. A front door fashioned from half logs nailed together, and a pair of moose antlers on the front wall added the finishing touches to the rustic log cabin which was to be our home for the next four seasons.

With the cabin finally completed, we installed the small woodburning stove, then celebrated with an old-fashioned "house-warming party". As the stove heated the cabin to dry out the logs, we enjoyed a festive evening with blueberry bannock, spruce needle tea, and our own banjo and fiddle music. Sally and I felt a warmth not only from the fire, but also from the satisfaction of watching the firelight flicker against the walls of the home we had built together.

The small cabin and warm stove were luxurious after months in the cold, damp tent. We built our own pine furniture from poles and hand hewn planks, and cut sturdy chairs from large logs. A not so sturdy table, a woven rope bed, and shelves along the walls completed the simple furnishings.

We learned to live off the land as the early settlers did. We fished for rainbow trout, hunted grouse and ptarmigan, and foraged for wild edible plants and berries to supplement our basic food supply of beans, bannock, and other dried foods. In the fall we sun-dried blueberries and crowberries to add variety and vitamins to our winter diet.

September and October were good months for exploring, with clear cool days and few bugs. Frost on scarlet leaves reminded us that winter was approaching and we were eager to follow the rivers, and climb to the high country before snowfall. The pioneer spirit lured us far from the cabin in search of adventure and unexplored valleys.

From the barren windswept mountains behind our cabin, we enjoyed our first view of an area we had only seen on maps. Before us lay the green jewels of Hottah Lake and two unnamed lakes to the east, perfectly proportioned and set in rings of dark evergreens and lofty peaks.

To the west was an open valley of green marshes, beaver ponds, and a gleaming silver river. On the southern horizon was the broad flat plain of the Spatsizi Plateau and endless rows of serrated peaks. Looking out over the vast expanse, we could see no sign of man, only forested valleys, mountains, lakes, and rivers.

As the snow crept down the mountains, we spent our days preparing for the season ahead. A well stocked woodpile was as essential to our survival as it had been to the early settlers, and Sally and I spent many long hours splitting firewood with axe and maul. We cut and stacked fourteen cords of firewood, then rechinked the cabin with moss and banked sand around the foundation to keep out cold winter winds.

By the end of October fingers of ice stretched out onto the water, and by early November the entire lake slept under a sheet of ice and blanket of new-fallen snow. Early winter was a time of isolation. The northern lakes had frozen earlier than expected, preventing the arrival of our winter provisions by floatplane, and we were faced with the bleak prospect of a winter without sufficient food. Unless we planned to spend the winter dining on berries and bannock, we had to obtain some fresh meat. Neither Sally nor I had ever hunted large game before, and we hesitantly unpacked the ancient .303 rifle that we had hoped never to use. We nervously prepared for our first hunt.

We followed moose tracks for two days before finding a small bull moose in a valley only two miles from the cabin. We circled downwind from the moose, then I slowly crept up to within firing range. I took a deep breath and pulled the trigger. Nothing happened. In my nervous haste I had forgotten to unlatch the safety lever. I aimed again and squeezed the trigger. To my great relief, my first shot brought the large animal down; our food problem was resolved.

Tracking and shooting the 700 pound animal was easy compared with the messy and gruesome chores of bleeding the carcass, skinning and butchering. After four hours of butchering and wrapping our winter's meat, following the instructions of a small booklet, we

"In late February we welcomed the return of the sun . . ."

trudged home with heavy packs, bloodsoaked and weary.

With a large woodpile and a cache full of meat we felt as ready for winter as we could be, but faced our first northern winter with many of the same fears that the pioneers must have experienced. How cold would it get? Did we have enough warm clothing for minus fifty degree temperatures? Would we have enough firewood and food to survive the next six months of isolation?

Mid-November brought temperatures that plunged far below freezing. A foot of snow carpeted the valley and, with the sun no longer clearing the ridge to our south, daylight dwindled to six short hours. As in the old days, when families gathered around the cheery warmth of the kitchen cookstove, our small woodburning stove became the centre of our household, working to keep the cabin comfortable.

In early winter we explored our valley by snowshoe and camped out in lean-to shelters by warm crackling campfires. Trappers and explorers had also spent this season on snowshoes, and we felt a strong link with the past as we shuffled through the forest. Our snowshoes were made with birch frames and laced with rawhide much like the ones used by Indians and settlers over one hundred years ago. As the soft snow of early winter became deeper our snowshoes were needed every time we ventured from the cabin — even on visits to the outhouse.

December and January were cold, quiet months. This was a season of rest for reading, writing, indoor projects and sharing long evenings by the woodburning stove. Our only light was the mellow, yellow glow of a kerosene lantern, water was under three feet of ice at the lake, and our only transportation was by snowshoe across the rugged, remote wilderness. We were snowbound for many days and became totally isolated from the outside world; it was impossible to travel more than a few miles a day in the deep untracked snow.

During the coldest weather of mid-winter most of our time was spent inside the cabin, except for outdoor chores and short snowshoe trips in the woods to keep away "cabin fever". Trips outdoors meant wearing insulated pants, pak boots, and parkas, as well as down-filled face masks and heavy mitts. At fifty below zero our days were spent tending the fire, with short periods outside to split firewood and to chop through the ice for water. Even the hardy trappers would have been occupying themselves indoors because fur-bearing animals move about very little in extremely cold weather.

At fifty below the frigid air stung our noses and cheeks, our lungs burned when we chopped firewood, and our eyelashes stuck together with frost after only a few minutes outdoors. The water hole froze six inches overnight, kerosene turned to a syrupy liquid, and we had to bring the axes inside to warm so they would not shatter when used. Through the winter we gained a deep respect for the early pioneers and the hardships they had to endure through their northern winters.

In late February we welcomed the return of the sun. It had been three cold, dark months since the sun disappeared behind the southern ridge, and we eagerly looked forward to longer days exploring our wilderness domain. The settled snows of late winter made travelling easier as we followed the frozen trails of rivers and lakes.

During March and April we snowshoed into untracked valleys and mountains, carrying heavy packs laden with food and camping gear for several days' travel. We had exchanged the cold days of sitting in the cabin longing to be outdoors for shivering cold nights outdoors, wishing we were back in the cabin, but our discomforts were rewarded by the discovery of spectacular new country where possibly no one had ever snowshoed before us. We experienced the thrill of wolves howling around our tent at night and the splendour of northern lights that lit up the night sky. Mornings brought colourful crimson sunrises and clear crisp days. On days like these we didn't mind the cold weather.

Spring came slowly in our northern valley. During late May we were cabin-bound for three weeks, frustrated by mile after mile of snow too soft to snowshoe and lakes and rivers too dangerous to cross. Our travel was confined to one hundred yards to the lake for water in one direction and two hundred yards to the outhouse in the other. This was cabin fever time in the North; a time of impatiently waiting for spring breakup.

The ice on Hottah Lake finally broke up in early June. After the long white winter we revelled in the new sounds and sights of spring: the slap of a beaver's tail on water, the lonesome call of the loon, and the still lake reflecting the green forests and mountains.

We spent our second summer exploring the wilderness by canoe and on foot. We hiked to the high country, passing through alpine meadows of knee high wildflowers, then climbed to the highest ridges as marmots whistled from the slopes around us. Summer camps were set in the seclusion of small mountain lakes or high meadows beside bubbling streams.

As we canoed along winding rivers and portaged the canoe between lakes, we reminisced about the *voyageurs* and fur traders who had explored Canada's North. Paddling our canoe along wilderness rivers was like reliving the adventures of early explorers; beaver, otter, and muskrat swam beside the canoe, and moose browsed in the reeds as we paddled by. We set up camp on beaches patterned with bear, wolf, and moose tracks, then cooked supper over crackling campfires. Perhaps an early settler had camped on this same beach many years ago.

In August Sally and I reluctantly left the wilderness to return to civilization. We tidied up our cabin, leaving it unlocked and readied for the comfort of some future traveller. We packed our belongings into the canoe, then bade farewell to our wilderness home. Our six day trip out followed swift boulder-strewn rivers through rapids and narrow canyons, then down the wild Stikine River. Each day on the Stikine River brought us closer to civilization; first a log cabin on the shore, then an old mining camp, and finally the gravel road to Dease Lake.

We emerged from the wilderness into a bewildering world of modern day life, from trout to traffic and the cabin to convenience stores. Hot water from taps, laundry machines that didn't resemble a bucket and plunger, and indoor washrooms all seemed like unnecessary complications after our rustic lifestyle.

Our fourteen months in the wilderness more than fulfilled our dream to build our own hand-hewn log cabin and live off the land as the pioneers had done. Sally and I will always remember with fondness the challenges, adventures, and slower quiet days at Hottah Lake, when we shared a wilderness that is vanishing all too quickly. We also know in our hearts that some day the pioneer spirit will again lure us to the North. ♦

Ian Wilson and his wife Sally are now off on another adventure in the B.C. wilderness. All photographs published with this article are by Ian Wilson.

Franklin's Advance Party 1824-1825

By C. Stuart Houston and Mary I. Houston

John Franklin's first two expeditions to explore and map the northern shores of this continent followed the Hayes, Saskatchewan, Churchill, Athabasca and Slave river systems en route to the Coppermine and the Mackenzie. The first expedition, 1819-22, narrowly averted total disaster — 11 of 20 men perished and the remaining nine were close to death when rescued by the Copper Indians.

In contrast, the second expedition, 1825-27, was better planned and much better supported. Franklin decided that he must not rely so heavily on voyageurs and Indians. Instead, an advance party was sent from Great Britain in 1824, the year before the officers (Franklin, Richardson, Back and Kendall) were to arrive.

Franklin's official account, *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, published in 1828, begins on 29 June 1825, when the officers and four marines (Robert Hallom, William Money, Shadrach Tysoe and George Wilson) overtook the advance party. This rendezvous occurred just before they crossed the arduous 12-mile Methye Portage between the Churchill and Athabasca river systems.

Did all of the advance party winter at Cumberland House? How did they fare? How were they received and regarded by the Hudson's Bay Company men? To answer these questions and gain another view of the second Franklin expedition we consulted the relevant journals of Cumberland House and Carlton for the winter of 1824-25, in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

The Cumberland House journal for 1824-25 was kept by Clerk Thomas Isbister on behalf of James Leith, the chief factor. The story is best told in Isbister's words. Isbister recorded the following entry on 18 October 1824:

> Late in the Evening Mr. Neil MacDonald, with 16 men and two Esquimeaux arrived from York Factory with three Government Boats and 60 Pieces of cargo [about 4800 lbs]. Brought very good news from Y.F. as likewise of the Vessel having arrived safe; Mr. Leith C.F. at this place found on perusing Captain Franklin's letter that double the quantity of Pemican is requested to be got across to English [Churchill] River for the use of the Expedition the ensuing season. Therefore Mr. L. thought it highly necessary that some of the party should proceed to Carlton by water to inform Mr. Stewart (C.F.) at that place of the same, that he might be able in time to take his measures. Accordingly gave out rations to the Party for their supper.

Neil MacDonald had been first employed by the HBC at age 19 at Trout Lake in the Severn District, then as a middleman in Athabasca District from 1818 to 1823. He subsequently retired to Europe, sailing from York Factory in the *Prince of Wales* in the autumn of 1823. He presumably returned on the same ship in 1824, as he was in charge of the party of 16 until Franklin arrived.

On 19 October, Leith "desired Mr. MacDonald to inform eleven of the party who were thought to be most hardy to be ready to start tomorrow with himself with one boat" to Carlton. "Being a Double Set of men to work to enable them to go on Expeditiously, the men not being inclined to obey the orders, Mr.

TATTANNAÆUK· Esquimaux Interpreter, named, by the English in Hudsons Bay, AUGUSTUS,
the faithful follower of Captains S.r John Franklin, & S.r Geo· Back, & Dr. Richardson, in their Arctic Land Expeditions in N. America

Augustus, Franklin's Inuk interpreter, painted by John Halkett at York Factory, 1882, long after Augustus died.

Leith had an Explanation with them representing the necessity of their proceeding up by water, as travelling on Ice would be much harder for them. The six old hands engaged at York Factory said they would go if they were furnished with a guide & Hunter. A guide was offered them and was told as we had no hunter that they would get an extra quantity of provisions in case they should be taken by the Ice. The other five Scotch lads refused to proceed any farther. Mr. L thought he had no right to use coerceve measures to enforce obedience, not having their Engagements, nor having the honor of being one of His Majesty's commissioned officers, many of them saying that their Engagements and Promises from Captn Franklin exempted them from going farther &c. Archble Stewart refused to go farther unless they all went excepting the two boat builders [Thomas Matthews, Thomas Fuller]. Wm McLellan appeared to be the Leading Man however, in private he gave his reasons his health not being so good as usual."

20 October — "Gave the Expedition Men a house to lodge in with Daily Rations the same as the people of the Fort."

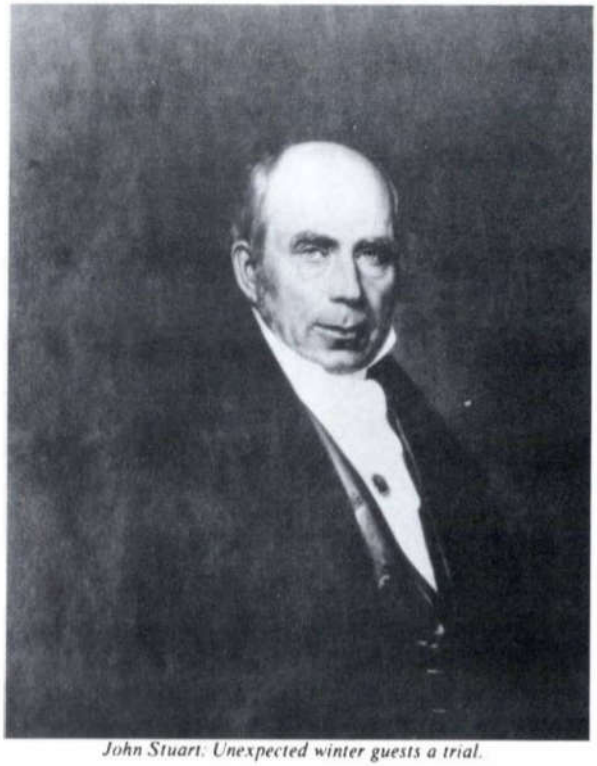
25 October — ". . . have ordered the Expedition Men to provide fire wood for themselves and the wood hauler will bring it home for them."

14 November — "John McLennan an Expedition Man [spelled McLellan by Franklin] is taken very ill with great pain across his body from his back to his breasts. Some blood was taken from him, after which he found the pain a little easier."

16 November — "McLennan confined to his bed. Some more blood was taken from him."

21 November — "Ordered John McDuffie to be ready to start tomorrow in lieu of John McLennan who still continues unwell."

22 November — "About 12 o'clock the following party of the Expedition were sent off for Carlton; Neil MacDonald, John Hudson, John MacLea, Charles MacKenzie, Jas Spence, Gustavis Aird, John



John Stuart: Unexpected winter guests a trial.

MacDufie, Alex[r] Currie & Hugh Gibson with 15 days provisions, three trains of dogs."

Thirteen days later the journal at Carlton House, over 250 miles upstream, kept by Chief Factor John Stuart [note that he spells his surname differently from that given by Isbister] gives the following notation on 5 December:

> . . . I was this day at 9 a.m. not a little surppised [sic] at seeing a number of strangers entering the Fort. They are a party of nine men sent up by Mr. Leith from Cumberland House. Eight of them are attached to the intended arctick land expedition under the command of Cap[t] Franklin R.N. and the ninth [Hugh Gibson] is one of Mr Leiths men whom he sent up to return with one of the expedition men. They could not come at a worse time, with but our own people ever since my arrival we could barely subsist and these people will soon eat us out of house and home. I have placed them altogether in the same House but one of them a Mr Neil McDonald, formerly a clerk in the companys service I will consider as a messmate, not that he is by agreement strictly entitled to it but he has had the command of the others from York to Cumberland and being admitted as a messmate at both these places it would not appear well was I to class him with the others. He always bore a good character and Mr Leith writes is unassuming.

8 December — ". . . four of the men attached to the arctick Expedition were sent for sledge wood, they got as Provisions a bag of Pemican."

9 December — ". . . the people for Cumberland are completely arranged ready to start tomorrow on their return and if they starve it will not be for want of having a sufficiency of provisions 120 lb. Pemican."

On 10 December Hugh Gibson and Alexander Currie left for Cumberland House, which they reached on 21 December, carrying letters to Mr Leith and some for forwarding to Red River. These letters told of "war Parties amongst the tribes in the Sascatchewan, a good many of the Slave Indians having been killed by the Crees and Assiniboines."

16 December — ". . . the people of the arctick Expedition . . . were very dilatory and seamed to think that our people should do every thing on which I told them once for all that if they were lazy to work I should take care they should be lazy to eat also — and that being by agreement bound to perform the duty of vogagers [sic], I should expect they would in future comport themselves as such and that I should not in future have occasion to tell them twice to do any thing that was appointed for them to do. This had the desired effect and they continued their work cheerfully, and every thing being ready Gustavus Aird, Charles McKenzie and James Spence, three of Captain Franklins men were sent to Green Lake with five Horses loaded each with four bags of Pemican."

17 December — "Mr. Neil MacDonald another of Captain Franklins men took his departure along with Mr Douglass [from the Green Lake HBC post] to assist the others sent off yesterday . . . Hudgson, one of the Expedition men is employed making sledges."

Isbister's journal meanwhile tells us of holiday doings back at Cumberland House:

24 December — "Served out to the men of the Place for their Cristmess viz 15 lb dry meat, 1 Gall Indian Corn, 6 lbs Grease, 1 piece of Pork, 1 Fresh Goose, 2 Gall Ground Wheat, 3 do of Barley, 1 1/2 bushels potatoes & 15 White Fish. Gave also the very same to the men of the Expedition."

25 December — "Cristmess Day. Gave all the men two drams in the morning, and after breakfast one half pint of Spirits each, and they are enjoying themselves."

31 December — "Rations to the people for their New Year — 18 lb dry meat, 8 lb Grease, 6 qts of Indian Corn, 2 Geese, 2 Galls ground wheat, 4 do of ground barley, 18 white fish and 1 bushel of Potatoes, the same also to the Expedition men."

1 January 1825 — "Gave each of the men two drams of Shrub [rum and fruit cordial] in the morning and after Breakfast a 1/2 pint of Demerera Spirits and to conclude the day with a dance in the evening and 2 galls of Shrub."

Let us now return to New Year's events 250 miles upstream at Carlton House.

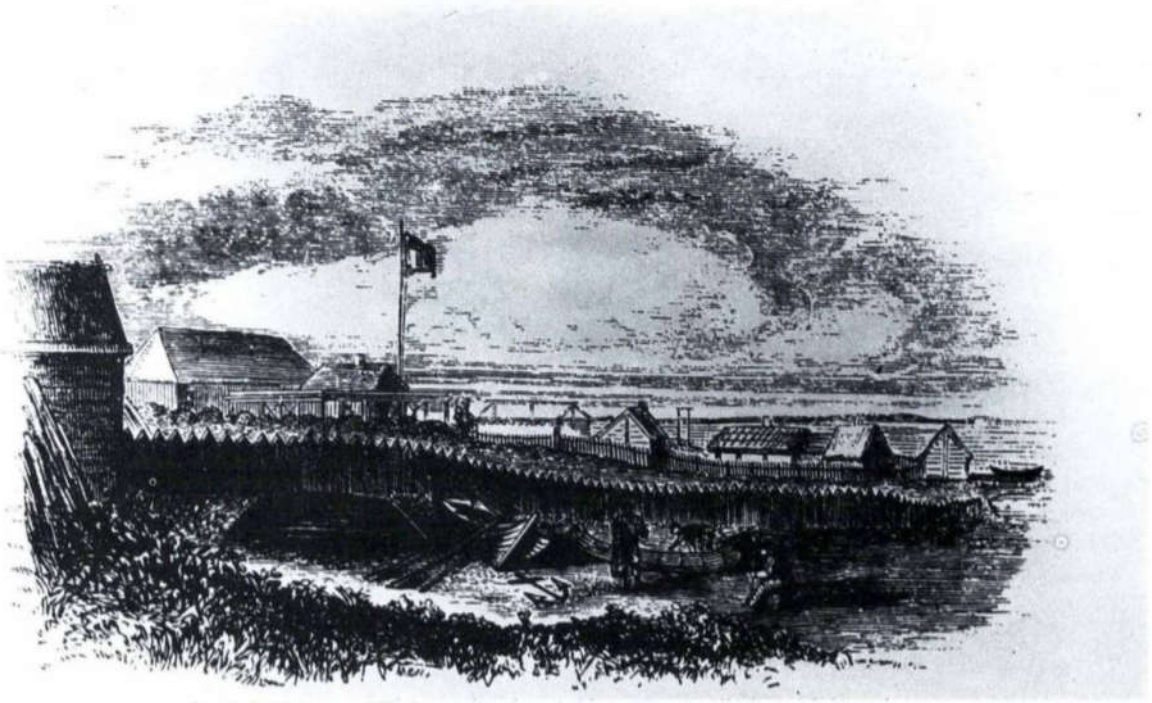
31 December — ". . . at a late hour at night Mr Neil McDonald and the three others sent off the 16th arrived. I understand that in going to Green Lake they ate one of Bags of Pemican given them as loads, to render there but the whole being charged to the intended Expedition under the command of Capt Franklin RN, they will have to settle accounts with him. Had they been companys Servants I would have fined them highly for such conduct, they having not to alage [sic] as excuse being even short of Fresh Meat for more than one night when they commenced the Pemican."

1 January 1825 — "Very fine mild weather and New Years Day was [blank = welcomed] in by a Salute of Musketry fired at our doors and windows after which the people came into the Hall to wish us the compliments of the season which being over and the people seated they were liberally treated with Shrub, Rum and Cakes to all of which they did justice but not one of them appeared much to feel the effect of the bumpers of Liquor they had drank. And the whole of them comported themselves very decently and on retiring they fired another salute after which the Ladies paid us a visit and having first kissed them *a la mode de pays* we treated them in much the same manner as we had done their husbands and it is but common justice to remark that though they had shrub at discretion they comported themselves decently and soon retired to the society of their Husbands in their own Houses. We had yesterday issued as rations for the Fete eight pounds of the best Meat we had in the store, a quart of Wheat an equal quantity of Barley with a proportion of Grease and Potatoes for each man, half that quantity for each woman and half the allowance of a woman for each child, so that they all had an ample Breakfast. The Hunters also and their women had rations nearly similar and in the morning were in like manner treated with Rum and cakes — but by 10 A.M. the Hall was clear of all and we set down to our Breakfast. The Remainder of the day was passed variously as suited the people fancy, and at 4 1/2 P.M. the table being laid in the Hall all hands Companys Servants & arctick land expedition people were invited to partake of the best dinner we could provide and it proved most excellent consisting of two courses of Ragouts of different kinds, an equal number of Bouletts, Roasted Ribs & Bosses in abundance which with current pies & Plum Pudding completed the best repast that perhaps some of the partakers ever witnessed before. There were thirty two at table and though from various countries they all behaved themselves decently. After the cloth was removed & while the ladies and attendents [sic] had their dinner a few songs some in French others in English and some few in Gaelic were sung and at 8 P.M. all hand retired to prepare for the dance which commenced soon afterwards and which all the ladies attended and accquited themselves well. Most of the Europeans did not appear but had gone to bed on retiring from table and but only part of the Canadians attended but such as did as well as the few of my own countrymen who were present behaved themselves remarkably well and we passed a most pleasant evening. At midnight it being then Sunday I thanked the company for their attendance and wished them a good night immediately after which they all retired having previously got four Gall of Rum amongst them all to drink prosperity to the company and the expences of the day exclusive of meat, Flour, Sugar plums, currents &c was four Galls of Spirits, half as much Shrub and nearly a Gall of wine."

Captain Sir John Franklin, R.N.

2 January — ". . . and everything as quiet as if there had never been a new years day. I had advertized the people on retiring last night that this being Sunday no Liquor would be sold nor did any not even the Hunters trouble me for any and thus far I had cause to be satisfied with the whole."

3 January — ". . . eight Galls of Rum were sold to the people making them each a quart. They wished to have got more but I was not sufficiently pleased at their conduct to indulge them, they being most part of the afternoon and nearly the whole of the night quarreling . . . and I regret to have to remark that my



Cumberland House, 1858, from a sketch made by the Henry Youle Hind expedition.

own countrymen [Scots] and the half Breeds were the worst among them, from the latter not better could be expected but I was sorry to see the others behave themselves more like Indians and the worst of Indians than like civilized beings professing the Christian Religion. One Gustavus Aird in particular a stout raw boned Highlander showed himself to be both a brute and a sco[u]ndrell. He did not appear to be much drunk but was going about nearly the whole of the night waylaying the others who were more drunk than himself and could not defend themselves. He had nearly murdered John Hudgson a good natured quiet inoffencive [sic] half breed son to Gov[r] Hodgson for no other cause than Hodgson while along the voyage had on various occasions kept him to his duty and while at Cumberland House had offered to fight him, which Aird had not the courage to do, but now that his courage was roused by the Liquor he had drank he watched an opportunity when Hodgson was both drunk and laying down to belabour him with an axe helve in a most dreadfull manner. Hodgsons head is cut and mangled most shockingly, and there is a deep cut on his right eye and another on his left Ear that nothing but an edged instrument could inflict, which renders probable almost certain that Aird had at first used the hatchet itself previous to his taking the helve out of it. Hodgsons back and left arm also is most terribly bruised and I question much if he ever comes to have the free use of his arm. This circumstance I regret much but I neither prevent nor foresee it having never imagined that Aird who is a stout powerfull man though I understood he had a dislike to Hodgson would watch an opportunity and behave so scandalously. It is the first time I had ever cause to be asshamed of a Countryman and I was not backward in telling it to Aird. . . . several of the Canadians also were drunk but I had no cause to be dissatisfied with their comportment and of the Europeans Gustavus Aird was the only one that misbehaved much."

20 January — ". . . McLea, McKenzie, Gustavus and Spence arrived from the Hunters tent [halfway to Green Lake] with small loads of meat."

7 February — ". . . McDuffe . . . appears to be sick."

The winter mail from York Factory arrived at Carlton on 21 February. The Express had left York Factory 20 December. Two Cumberland House employees, J.M. Teicier [Tessier] and Thomas Brown left Cumberland House on 7 February to relay it on to Carlton. They were back at Cumberland House on 11 March. ". . . it brings no very particular news further than that the whole of the valuable property remaining En Depot at Norway House was reduced to ashes and the Fort burnt."

6 March — ". . . there was but 1900 lb whereas there ought to have been at least 5000 lb [Pemmican]." Stuart blamed this on the men fired by the new Governor, George Simpson:

Such is the gain made by the company by having dismissed nearly the whole of the good and faithful servants they had in the service — and there were many both Europeans and Canadians — at present there is not what may be called a real good man at Carlton, Mallette the best of them being now getting much the wear, and him, Ballendine and Baptiste Parrissien are the only three that can be called even tolerable. . . . that emulation so common to voyagers is now become altogether extinct.

16 March — "This morning Mallette, McLea, McKenzie and Gustavus went off to our Buffalo hunters tent. . . . McDuffe was to have gone with them . . . he is the most useless man we have here."

24 March — ". . . In the evening twelve men arrived from the Buffalo Hunters. They all brought very small loads and McKenzie and McDuffe brought but 392 lb between them . . . Both Gustavus and Arpin have remained there snow blind but McLea who remained there last time is come back."

Swans, geese and ducks arrived at Carlton unusually early that year, on 27 March. On 29 March, Gustavus Aird continued sick. On 1 April 10,000 pounds of fresh meat were placed in the Ice House. On Easter Sunday, 3 April, the "people got a dram and some Potatoes, which of late are seldom but they frequently get wheat which with a Steel Mill is ground into tolerable good flour."

On 29 April John Stuart was pleased to be rid of six of his unexpected winter guests: "I this day sent the whole of the arctick Land expedition men with the exception of Hodgson whom I retain here as the only one who could and in fact has rendered any service here, off to Cumberland House, and it was no easy matter to get them off there being not a sober man among them but Mr McDonald and though Countrymen of mine I was glad to see them off and while I remain in the country would never willingly wish to see so many of the same class together again. Few of them can perform the duty of a voyageur, nor do they know what it is, and though of little service if not strictly kept under, there is not one of them that would not be troublesome. I cannot however say that I found them disobedient but had I given in in one point when they first arrived here there would be no such thing as managing them and when in Liquour they are more troublesome and noisy among themselves than any Indians I ever met with."

Meanwhile at Cumberland House the two Eskimos, Augustus and Ouligbuck (spelled OuleBuck by Isbister) were kept busy. On 25 November the two of them were sent across the lake to hunt deer. In January they were at the Beaver (Amisk) Lake fishery, and in May they were fishing at Poplar Point.

Expedition men (only George Munroe's name does not appear) were mentioned from time to time through the winter. On 20 January they were involved making a road to the hayfield on the Little River and on 29 January in making a road to the wood being cut for boat building. That day they launched the first boat out of the workhouse and "Mr. Isbister got the Beer a Barming towards evening."

Because of a threatened shortage of food at Cumberland House, three men were sent to Moose Lake on 5 January — William Duncan, John McEachern and Thomas Gillet. Archibald Stewart, who was to have been the fourth, remained behind "in consequence of too much drinking in the Christmas time" and did not go until 7 February. Duncan returned first by dog team on 12 April, while Gillet, McEachern, Harcus (Harkness) and Stewart stayed at Moose Lake until 12 May when an early breakup allowed them to return by boat.

The carpenters, Thomas Fuller and Thomas Matthews were mentioned as sawing elm boards on 7 and 20 February, and repairing the boat in March. Boatbuilding was aided by the unnamed HBC blacksmith who on 31 January was "making iron works for the Expedition boats, their keels being much damaged and the copper all torn off, consequently they require Plates of Iron, with addition of several other things."

William McLennan was mentioned only once, cleaning the stable and facing up the stalls on 1 February. John McLennan was sent to Beaver Lake on 10 January and returned five days later "with 400 white fish for the dogs." He went with the carpenters for elm wood on 27 January. Several other references mention McLennan, without specifying whether John or William.

Archibald Stewart, his hangover behind him, made a trip to Beaver Lake from 17 to 20 January. He and Robert Spinks were hauling hay on 1 February.

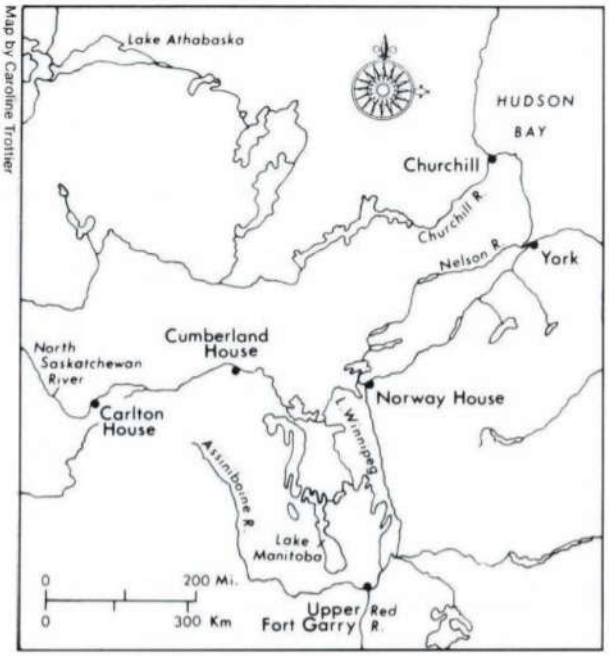
On 8 April three Swans were seen and Billy Kennedy shot a "pliver" [killdeer].

On 13 April, Isbister noted that the season was "at least a fortnight sooner advanced than last year."

With the arrival of the six from Carlton on 5 May and the four from Moose Lake on 12 May, the Expedition men were all together again. On 13 May they planted 10 kegs of potatoes.

1 June — "Thomas Mathews one of the carpenters of the Expedition had the misfortune to get his leg broke this afternoon at the foot ball by John McLennan . . . got it amuteted [sic] by Mr Ross. During the performance the poor [man] suffered considerable pain."

2 June — "Mr. Leith having appointed Mr. Fraser to the command of the Land Arctic Expedition till Captain Franklin overtakes them. Embarked in the three boats with all the Goods &c which they brought here last Atumn, also all the men Mathews Excepted and George Harcuss was sent from this place in his room. Supplied them with 15 2/9 bags of Pemmican



Map by Caroline Trotter

ican each 90^{wt} 50 lbs Peece meat, 300 lbs Barley meal, 10 lbs flour, 14 lbs Loaf sugar, 1 lb Tea, 1 Gall Shrub, 1/2 Gall Leeward Island Rum."

Isbister's Journal closes with Leith's Annual Report, dated York Factory 12 July 1825. It records acknowledgement of a thank-you note from Franklin as follows:

> I received a letter from Capt Franklin dated from Cumberland, stating his thanks for the treatment his people received during their stay there, as well as on that he had met with there himself, with the precautions &c taken for forwarding the Expedition indeed when I met him in Lac Bourbon, he seemed highly pleased with his reception throughout the country.

Thomas Matthews had not had his leg amputated. Isbister's normally adequate vocabulary seems to have failed him, for surely the fracture was merely "set" or "immobilized." The officers, including Dr. John Richardson, having travelled via New York, Toronto and Penetanguishene, arrived at Cumberland House on 15 June 1825, only two weeks after the injury. "The Doctor after examining Matthews leg found that it was the small bone only [the fibula] that was broke." Two months later, on 12 August, Matthews' leg had healed sufficiently to accompany George Keith and [Simon?] "McGillavarey" with the supply canoes leaving for the Athabasca. As Franklin tells us, when a party returned on 18 November to the wintering house at Fort Franklin on Great Bear Lake, from Fort Norman to which they had taken a packet of letters, they brought Thomas Matthews with them on a dog-sledge; "his leg was yet too weak for him to walk more than a short distance."

At Fort Chipewyan on 29 July, Franklin discharged three "Englishmen . . . who thought themselves unequal to the fatigue of the service," John McEachern, William McLennan and John Hodgson. There is a discrepancy in the numbers since Isbister counted 16 on arrival and 16 left Great Bear Lake, yet Harcus [Harkness] was recruited at Cumberland House.

The viewpoint of the men who wintered in drafty log cabins and tents is not available. They had signed up for an exploring expedition, and were unenthusiastic about nearly eight months of relative inactivity in two remote trading posts. Although obedient to Franklin after his arrival, the men of the advance party were meanwhile much less inclined to take orders from fur traders and to do menial chores. However, their presence over winter allowed the carpenters to build much better boats than the birch-bark canoes used by the first Franklin expedition. Even more important, heavy goods and supplies were more easily brought from York Factory than from Montreal, but only when brought the previous autumn did they allow a start from Cumberland House in early June. The main advantage, of course, was that those new recruits brought from Great Britain became acclimatized, learned about snowshoes and dogteams, and got used to eating pemmican.

The subsequent arctic explorations were remarkably successful. Dr. Richardson in 1825-26 surveyed most of the shoreline of Great Bear Lake, the fourth largest lake in North America, and in 1826, another 863 miles of new Arctic coastline between the mouths of the Mackenzie and the Coppermine. Franklin's party meanwhile mapped 374 miles of coastline west of the Mackenzie, but failed to meet the sledge party sent from Frederick William Beechey's ship, *Blossom*. They had, as Leslie Neatby has said, "put a roof on the map of Canada, and given a definite shape to the North American continent." Their natural history observations, which filled six massive books, were not equalled for a century.

The advance party experiment was clearly considered a success by John Richardson, who sent a similar advance party out with the Hudson's Bay ships in 1847. These men also wintered at Cumberland House in preparation for his 1848 expedition, the first of many to search for John Franklin's overdue third expedition. ♦

Dr. C. Stuart Houston and Mary I. Houston have done extensive research on the Franklin expeditions. Dr. Houston is editor of Arctic Ordeal, The Journal of John Richardson, Surgeon-Naturalist with Franklin, 1820-22.

TO HALIFAX WITH CAPTAIN COOK

By Boyce Richardson

History has so irrevocably identified Captain James Cook with the Pacific Ocean that it has been largely overlooked that he spent even more of his life in Canada than he did in the Pacific — and not in Pacific Canada, as most people would think, but in Eastern Canada.

Cook's working life as a seaman lasted for 33 years, and it was divided neatly into three segments — 12 years as a coastal and naval seaman working around Britain, 10 years focussed on Canada and Newfoundland, and nearly 11 years as a Pacific explorer.

His later achievements as an explorer, and the immense fame and adulation that accompanied them, overshadowed all else in Cook's career, but his Canadian experience was significant, too: he was one of the three surveyors who did most to map and chart the new territories in Eastern Canada that finally came under British control with the defeat of the French in 1760. More than that, it was largely during his 10 years here that he developed the qualities of patience, perseverance and steadiness, and the skills as a navigator and draughtsman that made him such an exceptionally successful explorer.

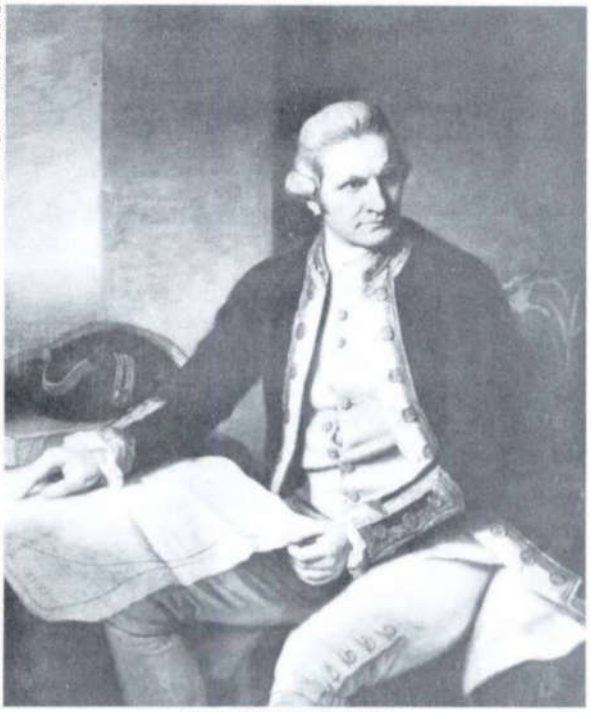
They were, therefore, important years in Cook's life, but Canada, it seems to me, has been a trifle reticent about claiming him as a distinguished forbear.

The period of Cook's service in Canada that is usually overlooked are the four and a half unbroken years that he spent in Halifax during the Seven Years' War. He had joined the Royal Navy two and a half years before, but had already attracted the attention of some of the capable officers who were trying to whip the Navy into shape to fight a war. One of these was Captain Hugh Pallisser (or Palliser, as he later came to spell his name), captain of the *HMS Eagle*, with whom Cook served most of his Navy time before coming to Canada.

Cook was unusual in that he had volunteered for service in the Navy as a seaman: most seamen at that time were impressed from the streets, jails, or merchant ships, and they had to endure appalling conditions. Alan Villiers, a modern-day sailing master, gives a vivid account in his biography of Cook of the exquisitely uncomfortable conditions on the *Eagle*, where ordinary seamen had to relieve themselves for'ard over the side of the ship, "the wettest, windiest, and most dangerous place in the ship . . . crouched desperately there in rows like wet scarecrows, clinging on for their lives, hanging to their trousers with one hand and grabbing for handhold with the other, while the spray drove over them as the ship dipped and plunged and threatened to throw the lot of them in the sea."

On Cook's first patrol to Ireland 22 men died of sickness on the *Eagle*, and 130 had to be landed with scurvy. Palliser soon received a request from the member of Parliament for Whitby handed on through the Admiralty, that Cook be granted a commission (so the former farm-boy had, it seems, some modest local connections). He hadn't served anything like the necessary time, but Palliser, evidently impressed by his efficiency, promoted him from bosun to master.

Cook first sailed for Canada on 22 February 1758 as part of the huge fleet under command of Admiral Edward Boscawen, carrying the army with which Pitt



Public Archives of Canada

James Cook by N. Dance.

intended to drive the French out of Canada. It was a dreadful voyage that took 77 days. Wolfe and Amherst, the Army commanders, were both reduced to abject seasickness, and Wolfe (among a string of other complaints that he made on arrival in Halifax), grumbled that he had to endure the most extraordinary voyage since Columbus's day. Two and a half months for an Atlantic crossing was certainly exceptional: when Cook returned to Britain four years later the crossing took only 19 days, and though, in the next decade, he crossed the Atlantic 10 times more, most of the journeys took between 30 and 40 days.

Cook was 31 when he came to Canada, the same age as Wolfe, but as master of the *Pembroke* he was, of course, a relatively unimportant person. Naturally, his career did touch names that resonate in Canadian history. His captain in the *Pembroke*, for instance, was John Simcoe, who died as his ship was sailing past Anticosti Island on the way up to attack Quebec in 1759 — leaving as his heir a seven-year-old son who grew up to be the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. This Captain Simcoe had encouraged Cook's interest in surveying, which he developed through contact with another man of some later importance, Major Samuel Holland, a military surveyor whom Cook met while strolling on the beach after the fall of Louisbourg in 1758. Simcoe loaned the great cabin of the *Pembroke* to Holland so that he could teach the interested Cook the rudiments of his craft. They worked together, as Holland later told Simcoe's son, to "compile materials for a chart of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence." Later Holland was surveyor-general of Quebec for nearly 40 years, and as a major contributor to the effective mapping and charting of eastern North America he has earned a prominent place in Canadian history.

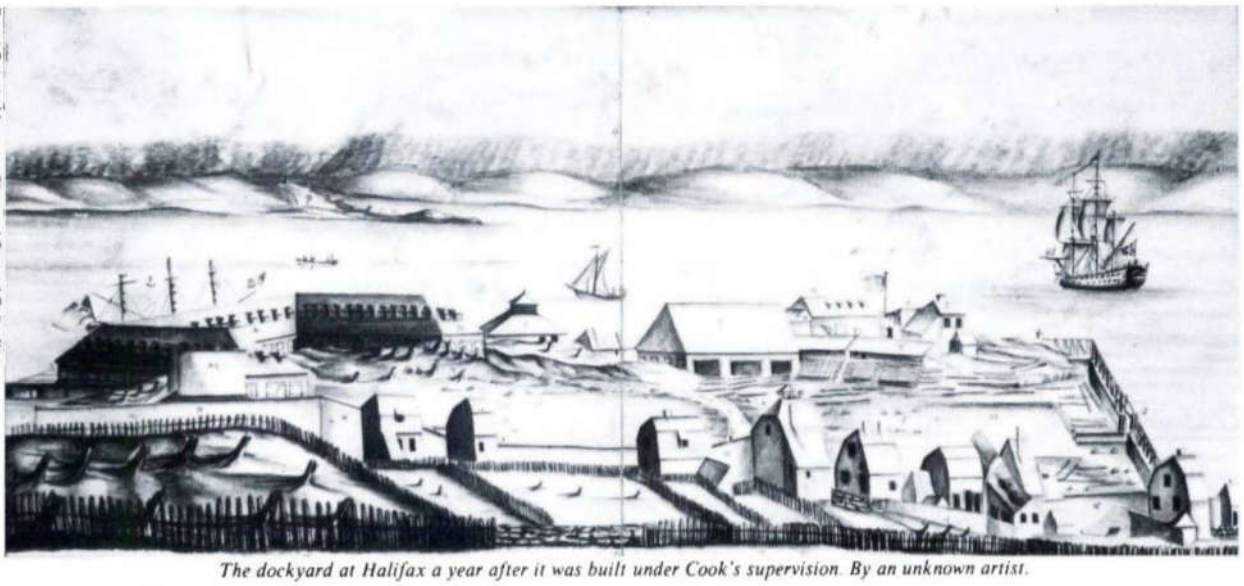
Cook evidently was a quick learner: the *Pembroke* was sent from Halifax to the Gaspé and the northern coast of New Brunswick to harass and destroy French settlements, but Cook took advantage of the opportunity to draw charts of the harbours.

Most of the naval ships involved in the siege of Louisbourg in 1758 returned to England for the winter, but the *Pembroke* was one of a number that were left under command of Admiral Durell to keep the flag flying in Halifax. Halifax had been founded only 10 years before, and was still a temporary sort of place, though it was gradually attaining some solid buildings and institutions.

The British government now decided to destroy Louisbourg as a fortress, and build up Halifax as headquarters for the North American naval squadrons, and that winter a significant addition was made to the town with the construction of the first permanent naval dockyard. This work was done under the supervision of James Cook. They did not have time to complete the job, of course, for as soon as the winter was over all energies had to be directed to the attack on Quebec.

This was the third year in a row that the British had assembled a huge army to attack French-Canada, and they were anxious to finish the job. Durell had been left to winter in Halifax so that he could get into the St. Lawrence as soon as the winter was over, and prevent the French from reinforcing Quebec City. But when Admiral Saunders arrived in Halifax in late April he was dismayed to find Durell had not yet left port. Durell sailed on 5 May with 13 ships, including the *Pembroke*, but was immediately slowed by the severe ice that had prevented him from leaving sooner. As he penetrated the estuary he discovered that Bougainville, who had been sent to France for reinforcements before the winter, had managed to slip into Quebec while Durell was holed up in Halifax. (Here is another fascinating footnote to history: of the sailors involved in the fight for French Canada during these years, at least four, Cook and Bougainville, Lord John Byron — who was brought over to demolish Louisbourg — and Captain Samuel Wallis, all within a few years made names for themselves as global explorers).

This idea of taking some of the largest ships afloat up the St. Lawrence to Quebec was extremely speculative. The French frankly thought it could not be done, and evidently allowed their scepticism to overrule their judgement. Montcalm had wanted to make it tough for the British by attacking them from shore



Royal Ontario Museum, Sigmund Samuel Collection

The dockyard at Halifax a year after it was built under Cook's supervision. By an unknown artist.

batteries built at five or six points along the river, but somehow this was not done.

The key to the enterprise was to find a way to get past the most dangerous passage, known as The Traverse, where ships had to cross from the north shore to the south so that they could pass around the island of Orleans. French naval men had taken the markings out of this dangerous place, which Durell reached on 8 June. He had seized some local river pilots to help with the work, but it was left to the masters of the British ships to make the soundings and discover the safe passage. Cook is often credited with having guided the British fleet to Quebec by re-establishing The Traverse markings, but his biographer, J.C. Beaglehole, thinks his role may have been exaggerated. Anyway, the work was done, and Cook played a part in it. Saunders followed Durell up the river with nine ships-of-the-line, 13 frigates and 119 transports, and the whole fleet passed The Traverse without loss by 25 June.

Cook's part in the conquest of Quebec appears not to have been particularly notable. He is recorded as having advised Wolfe on one occasion that transports could get to within 40 or 50 yards of a French shore position for a landing, but his advice was wrong: the transports ran into rocks much further from the shore, and the landing failed.

A week after Quebec surrendered on 18 September Cook was transferred as master to *HMS Northumberland,* under the command of Alexander, Lord Colville. The *Northumberland* sailed back to Halifax at the end of October, and Cook stayed with the ship until Colville was recalled to Britain almost exactly three years later.

Cook evidently spent his first winter in Halifax in study of his new discipline — surveying. The following summer they were again anchored off Quebec until 200 years of French-English dispute for the continent was ended by the capture of Montreal by the English armies.

The map of the St. Lawrence compiled by Cook and Holland had now been published in England at the order of Admiral Saunders, and Colville showed his appreciation of Cook's work by awarding him a 50 pound bonus "in consideration of his indefatigable industry in making himself Master of the Pilotage of the River St. Lawrence, etc." Since Cook's salary was only six guineas a month, this was a considerable sum, and it indicated that Cook, at the age of 32, had begun to emerge from the pack.

For many years the naval boss of Halifax, Colville was an interesting man, perhaps typical of the sea-captains on whose endurance and toughness was built the whole military enterprise by which Pitt extended the authority of the British empire around the globe.

He was a dour Scot, somewhat misanthropic, it seems; certainly a man disappointed in the rewards that life brought him. He was only 42 when left in charge of Halifax in 1759, but had served in ships for 27 years, and had been continuously at sea, with only one break, for more than five years. Not surprisingly, he had had scurvy for more than a year, and in the next couple of years he became plagued with "sore throats, swelled legs, innumerable pains all over me, sciatica and rheumatism." Several times in his career he was given the responsibility of commanding the North American squadron, only to have it whisked away when more senior officers arrived at his station.

Sent to stamp out smuggling along the east coast, he thought he would be given one-sixth of the value of captured ships, as provided for in the Royal Proclamation in 1763, but he was disappointed. His files are peppered with complaints about bounties that he claimed but was never awarded.

The proceeds from the sale of smuggling ships and their cargoes were normally divided between the King, the governor or commander-in-chief, and the captain of the arresting vessel. Colville claimed, in one 1762 case, the King's share for three seized ships, but the governor Jonathan Belcher claimed the King's share as well as his own, and so did the Collector of Customs. Colville's appeal was denied, and a few years later when he was re-appointed to the North American squadron he demanded £1,500 from the King's share before accepting the job. It seems typical of Colville's luck that he was paid only £620, and three years later, on appeal, had to return even that (although in 1766 he was awarded 20,000 acres of land near Halifax). Colville stuck it out in North America until 1766, and died at the age of 53 four years later. He left in Nova Scotia an illegitimate daughter, Sophia, born in 1765 to one Elizabeth Greene of Halifax — one of the three children who, he remarked in his memoirs with typically Presbyterian grimness, "came into the world stigmatised with the name of Bastard, thro' my Crime" — but he left money with the Rev. John Breynton of St. Paul's church in Halifax for the care of this family.

During the four years of Cook's residence in Halifax it must have been one of the most extraordinary settlements in the history of Canada. The people of Halifax had never gained high marks for propriety, the very first of them to arrive from England 10 years before, having been described by missionary William Tutty as "abandoned wretches, so deeply sunk in all kinds of immorality that they scarce retain the shadow of religion."

Though it was still only a small village, the atmosphere may be gauged from the need expressed in 1759 for a workhouse "for disorderly and idle persons who shall be found begging, or practising any unlawful games, or pretending to fortune-telling, common drunkards, persons of lewd behavior, vagabonds, runaways, stubborn servants and children, and persons who notoriously misspend their time to the neglect and prejudice of their own or their family's support."

The many children who had resulted from the amatory activities of "the Great Concourse of dissolute, abandoned women, followers of Camp, Army and Navy," were cared for in the orphanage, threepence a day spent on the beef, pork, bread, molasses and spruce beer needed to sustain them.

The buying and selling of rum at times seemed to be almost the main occupation and one American expressed the opinion that half the population was

Royal Ontario Museum, Sigmund Samuel Collection

Michael Francklin, Halifax merchant, a portrait attributed to John Singleton Copley.

engaged in selling liquor to the other half. There was said to be a winter of outright debauchery in 1762 when the fleet and army returned from the conquest of Havana.

But naturally, there were businessmen and others who were doing well, notable among them Michael Francklin, who opened a rum shop within 24 hours of his arrival in the town in 1752, where he would serve free rum to anyone who arrived before breakfast. He made a fortune exporting dried fish to Naples, and is said to have cleared £50,000 in four years as provisioner to the military during the great war. He became a prominent figure in the colony, and has been more kindly treated by history than that other merchant, Joshua Mauger, who also made money trading with the French and the Indians. Occasional slave auctions were part of his business. He eventually became the colony's agent in England, where he got a seat in Parliament.

There was no shortage in this strange, vigorous settlement, of colourful characters, who drifted to the town from far and wide. When John Bushell, second publisher of Canada's first newspaper, drank too much and got into debt, the man who took over from him was Anthony Henry, born in Alsace, fluent in three languages, and formerly a bandsman with Amherst's regiment at the capture of Louisbourg in '58. One of the most celebrated misdemeanours of the time was that of Peter, Marquis D'Conti and Gravina, a Swiss nobleman, who was convicted of intent to rape a 10-year-old child, and was sentenced to walk "between 10 and 11 this day, from the north to the south of the

parade, and thence to jail, bearing a paper on his breast describing his crime . . ."

There is no account of how James Cook related to this extraordinary town in which he now found himself. His logs for this period are strictly businesslike and impersonal, as they were all his life. But the Navy he was serving in was hardly less extraordinary than the town. Colville's dispatches detail massive punishments doled out by various captains to unfortunate seamen who suffered up to 600 lashes for such crimes as desertion, absentation from duty, secreting stolen goods, selling slop cloths, and so on. A seaman of the *Northumberland* called Edward Lovely deserves some kind of footnote in history for receiving 300 lashes in March 1761, and another 600 in August, for absenting himself from duty. Such men were "flogged around the fleet", a few lashes at one ship, a few at the next, and so on.

So casual was the regard for human life at this time that while the fleet was lying off Quebec in 1760 three men were sentenced to death for leaving the hospital at Lévis without permission. Two of these sentences were commuted, so the three condemned men tossed up to see which would be executed, and the loser was hung from the *Vanguard's* yardarm. This brutal standard of the time is perhaps worth remembering in view of Cook's occasionally severe behavior to the native people in the Pacific a few years later.

The main excitement of Cook's last year with the North American squadron came when the French temporarily seized St. John's harbour in Newfoundland in 1762. The *Northumberland* sailed to its relief, and Cook met there again his old commander, Palliser, who had been sent from England. Typically, Cook did not waste any time, but completed brand-new charts of Harbour Grace, Carbonear Bay, Bay Bulls and St. John's harbour. In his two months in Newfoundland he worked with J.F.W. Des Barres, a military surveyor who was mapping the island, and who, with Holland, is regarded as one of the major historic figures in the surveying of British North America. Britain was urgently in need of better physical information about its new possessions in Canada if it was to administer them successfully, and when the Newfoundland governor Thomas Graves returned to England he impressed on the Admiralty the need for better charts of the island — and he had in mind just the man to do the job.

Colville was now recalled to England, and the *Northumberland* sailed direct from St. John's, in company with Palliser's three ships (but not before Palliser had hanged one of his seamen, Thomas Lewin, for desertion).

By this time the war was over, and the crew of the *Northumberland* was paid off; but now three men were gathered in England — Graves, Palliser and Colville — who were alive to Cook's qualities, and they did not hesitate to draw the Admiralty's attention to them. Colville submitted Cook's Newfoundland charts with the notation that "Hitherto we have had a very imperfect Knowledge of these Places; but Mr. Cook, who was particularly carefull in sounding them, has discovered that Ships of any size may ly in safety both in Harbour Grace and the Bay of Carbonera."

Two months later Cook's old commander, Colville, forwarded a generous testimonial to his master's abilities:

". . . I beg leave to inform their Lordships, that from my Experience of Mr. Cook's Genius and Capacity, I think him well qualified for the Work he has per-

"A view of the landing place above the town of Quebec, describing the assault of the enemy, 13 Sept. 1759" by F. Swaine.

Public Archives of Canada

"The Navy wanted a competent, steady commander. . ."

formed, and for greater Undertakings of the same kind. These Draughts being made under my own Eye, I can venture to say, they may be the means of directing many in the right way, but cannot mislead any."

And so Cook was hired to chart the coasts of Newfoundland, and for the next five years, from 1763 to 1767, he divided each year between England and Newfoundland. By this time he was a married man, having, within two months of his arrival back in England, married 21-year-old Elizabeth Batts. In their next six winters together, they produced four children, whose nurture was left very largely to Mrs. Cook. Even before he became a global explorer, Cook was never able to spend more than five months at a time with his wife, and in fact during 17 years of married life Mrs. Cook saw her husband for only four and a half years. In the nearly 11 years of his celebrity as an explorer, he passed only 23 months at home. He spent more time both in Canada and in the Pacific than he did with his wife.

From 1763 Cook sailed in April or early May each year for St. John's, and spent the following five months charting the intricate coastline of the island colony, using his own specially equipped naval vessel, the *Grenville*. Newfoundland at the time was not a colony like the others. Settlement was not encouraged, but it was an important fishing station, and was, as Beaglehole remarked, "like a great wharf moored in the ocean."

Cook's service in Newfoundland is better known than his earlier period in Halifax. Under the terms of the peace treaty, the French regained St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the right to dry their fish catches on Newfoundland's north-west coast. Beginning with the French islands, Cook methodically year after year sailed the lonely shoreline, spending much time ashore measuring baselines and angles and noting an extraordinary variety of detailed information about physical structures, fishing grounds, sailing advice and so on. In the winter he busied himself with his charts for publication. The Admiralty did not undertake such work in those days, and he published them privately. He came to the attention of the scientific establishment when he observed an eclipse of the sun in 1766 and submitted a report of it to the Royal Society. Sir Hugh Palliser was governor of Newfoundland during most of these years — it was a job that occupied only the summers — and as one of the bright young men of the modern Navy, so highly regarded that he was later appointed Comptroller, he no doubt ensured that the remarkable work of his protegé did not go unnoticed at headquarters.

Beaglehole says that nothing in Cook's later career was to surpass in quality the work he performed in charting the Newfoundland coast — sailors were still swearing by his charts in the early years of this century, 150 years after they were made. Clearly, it is only because of the glory of his later accomplishments that history has tended to downplay somewhat Cook's notable contributions to the mapping of Canada, which appear to have been at least the equal of those of Holland and Des Barres.

On the face of it, it seems unlikely that a non-commissioned officer, already 40 years of age, would be chosen by the Royal Navy to command a major scientific expedition to Tahiti — especially one in which such prominent people as Alexander Dalrymple and Joseph Banks were taking an active interest. Yet Cook's decade of work in Canada had been done under the eyes of shrewd, tough officers who knew a good seaman when they saw one. The Navy wanted a competent, steady commander, perhaps to offset the slightly fanciful attitudes of the theorists and scientists interested in the voyage to Tahiti.

Though during the winter of 1767-68 Cook made all the usual preparations to return to Newfoundland in the summer, he was replaced in his command on the *Grenville* on 12 April, and three weeks later accepted command of the ship that was being outfitted for the trip to Tahiti. He was appointed to the rank of Lieutenant at the end of May and on 25 August he left England on a journey that would make him one of the most famous men of his time.

He had left Eastern Canada behind him, but remarkably it is still a too-little appreciated fact that it was in Eastern Canada, sailing for years among the islands, inlets, bays and gulfs of a dangerous rocky coastline, that James Cook had undergone the essential preparation for his historic task. ♦

Boyce Richardson is a freelance writer and film maker, based in Ottawa.

GRAIN

Pioneer Merchants Established Winnipeg As a Major Canadian Commercial Centre

BY CHARLES W. ANDERSON

Long before the first grain merchant set up shop or grain elevators were even contemplated, there were farmers at Red River. In 1812 the first agrarian colony west of Upper Canada was established there by the Selkirk Settlers, but grasshoppers, drought, frost and prairie fires conspired to limit their farming efforts at best to mere subsistence. The subsequent rise to prominence, in the second half of the last century, of the grains industry in Western Canada came about because of the presence of several vital ingredients. These included a productive agricultural land base, an immigration policy that encouraged the settlement of the prairies by an influx of hardy farming stock, and the construction of a railway to link farm to seaport.

When the first rail connection to Winnipeg was completed in 1878, the potential of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories as a new world breadbasket was still a matter of speculation. When the expedition of Captain John Palliser returned in 1860 from investigating the possibilities for rail line construction from the head of the lakes to Red River and westward through the Rocky Mountains, Palliser's assessment was not encouraging, and his evaluation of the productive capabilities of the lands lying to the south of the Saskatchewan River — the area now known as the "Palliser Triangle" — was even less optimistic. In the 1870s, however, an Irish botanist named John Macoun visited the same area, apparently in years of better rainfall, and upon his return he wrote a book entitled *Manitoba and the Great Northwest* in which he called the prairies "the garden of the country".

Fortunately, the experience of the past hundred years has shown Macoun's assessment to have been somewhat more accurate than that of Palliser, despite the intervening "dirty thirties", and one or two other brief periods that have made Palliser's first impressions seem understandable, if not absolutely representative.

Although the agricultural future of Western Canada was not assured when the first rail connections were completed in the 1880s, the 1870s had already witnessed the beginning of an important transition in Manitoba's agricultural community. From the subsistence type of farming that had been confined to the banks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, farming patterns had begun in the decade of the seventies to change. In 1873, under Colonel J. S. Dennis, the "postage stamp" province had been surveyed according to a plan that divided the land into one mile square sections laid out by township and range in an orderly grid pattern, an accomplishment that facilitated the expansion of Manitoba's farming area across the fertile plains to the west. By 1876 Manitoba had become an exporter of wheat, albeit a small one, and with the introduction of ploughs with chilled steel mouldboards, grain drills, self-binding reapers, and steam threshing machines in the hands of capable "men of the soil" from Eastern Canada, the United States and Europe, prairie wheat production increased from just over a million bushels in 1880 to more than eight million bushels in 1885, and twice that amount by 1890.

Before the arrival of the railway, the principal mode of transport into and out of the community at Red River had been by steamboat on the Red between Win-

nipeg and the American railhead at Fisher's Landing in Minnesota. It was by this route, aboard the steamboat *Minnesota*, that the first shipment of wheat from Manitoba to Ontario moved in the fall of 1876. That first cargo, 857 bushels of Red Fife wheat, was assembled by the Winnipeg firm of Higgins & Young for Steele Brothers of Toronto to help to augment a short Ontario crop. In 1877, a larger shipment, totalling 20,000 bushels, was made from the Red River settlement overseas to Britain.

Other factors were also conspiring to set the destiny of Manitoba and the Northwest as a new breadbasket. Among these were the introduction of a "purifier" milling process that produced a white flour, high in gluten, from hard red spring wheat, and the "National Policy" of the Canadian government that pledged railway construction in the West.

The purifier milling process, developed by Perrigault in France, used an air separation technique to remove the bran from the endosperm particles following an initial grinding, and this process, when followed by a further grinding of the "middlings", using steel reduction rollers, produced a very fine, white "Patent" flour that was superior to any previously milled from soft wheats.

First promised in 1871 to pave the way for British Columbia's entry into Confederation, construction of the transcontinental railway did not get under way until 1880, two years after the completion of Winnipeg's first rail connection, a line that ran south to join the St. Paul, Minnesota and Manitoba Railway at its northern terminus. Once under way, construction of the Canadian Pacific line advanced rapidly; by 1883 it extended all the way from Regina, through Winnipeg, and on to Fort William at the head of Lake Superior, providing an all-Canadian route for the movement of prairie grain exports to eastern and world markets.

When the line from Winnipeg to Fort William was nearing completion, temporary storage sheds were constructed to accommodate the first grain shipments. It was from these sheds that the very first prairie grain to cross the lakes was loaded out, by cart and wheelbarrow, to the steam barge *Erin* in the fall of 1883. Chartered by the firm of James Richardson & Sons of Kingston, the *Erin* carried that first wheat cargo down the lakes to Buffalo for eventual shipment overseas.

Lake shipment was greatly facilitated in the following year when the first grain terminal was completed by the CPR. Called "The King", it had a storage capacity of 350,000 bushels. Six years later there were three terminal elevators at the head of the lakes, with a total capacity of almost three million bushels.

As the cultivated area devoted to wheat production expanded, flour mills were established to serve the local

Manitoba Archives

Manitoba's first grain elevator, Niverville, 1878.

communities. In 1880, there were more than twenty flour mills in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, scattered all the way from Emerson to Prince Albert and Battleford in the Territories, and by 1891 the number exceeded forty. Within Winnipeg's Exchange District, the first Winnipeg flour mill was established in 1879 on the west bank of the Red River at the foot of Lombard Avenue. Called "City Mills", the plant was built by Daniel McMillan, later to become Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. (Other Winnipeg area flour mills, as listed in the Henderson Directory for 1881 were those of the Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg; E.H.G.G. Hay, Fort Garry; Joseph Lemay, St. Norbert; Hugh Pritchard, St. Pauls; and James Spence, St. James).

In 1881, a major eastern miller, A.W. Ogilvie & Company, built a mill in Winnipeg, and the original structure still stands in Winnipeg's Point Douglas area. In the same year, Ogilvie erected the first of what was to become a major line of Ogilvie grain elevators. Several years earlier, in 1874, John Ogilvie of the Montreal milling firm had gone west, intending to invest in Canadian farmland and to embark upon large-scale wheat production. While he was in the Dakota Territory he purchased 800 bushels of hard spring wheat and shipped it east for a milling test. When the flour produced turned out to be of a "magnificent" quality, Ogilvie changed his plans. He decided instead to encourage others to produce the wheat, and resolved that his firm should install steel reduction rollers in

Manitoba Archives

The Ogilvie mill at Winnipeg, circa 1885.

its mills without delay, and concentrate on the export flour trade. The company succeeded in exporting a small quantity of flour to Scotland in 1885 — the first export of flour from Western Canada — and in response received an inquiry for a shipment worth half a million dollars, for the British Army and the Royal Navy. Unfortunately for Ogilvie, this was a much larger order than the company was at that point able to fill.

Six years after the entry of Ogilvie into the West, a major flour mill was established by the Lake of the Woods Milling Co. and among the original shareholders in this new enterprise were George Stephen and Sir William van Horne of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Although the mill was situated at Keewatin in Ontario, it was built to use prairie wheat, soon to be accumulated through the company's own line of elevators.

The first grain dealers traded in grain as a sideline to other general merchandising activities. Probably the first instance of this type of trading activity followed the abundant harvest of 1862, when the firm of Ross and Caldwell offered to assist cash-short farmers by purchasing, for a limited period, fine white flour and clean dry grain. In succeeding years, other merchants became involved in similar fashion in purchasing the small surpluses of grains that became available in good years. Among these early grain merchants were the Winnipeg firms of Higgins and Young, A.G.B. Bannatyne, Davis and Smith, Robson & Co. (for A.W. Ogilvie & Co.), Kew, Stobart & Co. and R. Gerrie & Co.

Perhaps the first merchant to deal exclusively in grain was W.J.S. Traill in 1879, although the first Winnipeg Directory, published in 1880, lists six grain dealers in the city of Winnipeg, two at Portage la Prairie, one at High Bluff, and one at Niverville.

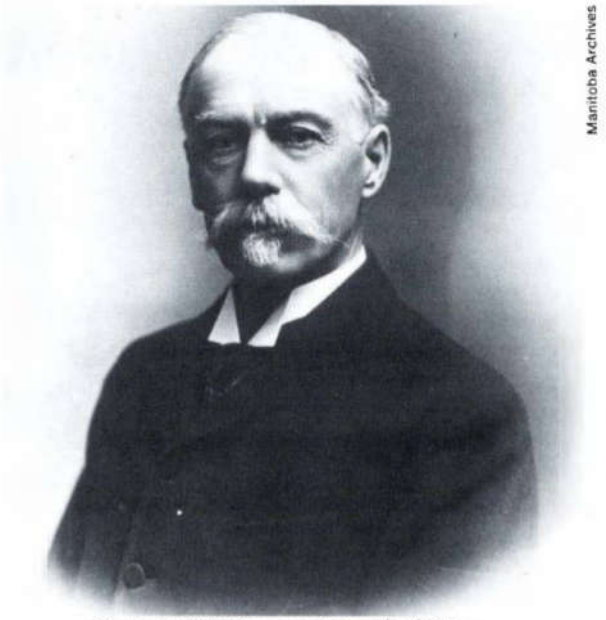
As successive crops brought larger volumes of grain into the market, the need quickly became apparent for an organization to provide some standardization to the trade. To fill this requirement, the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange was formed in 1883. This first attempt was unsuccessful, largely because crops were poor in 1883 and 1884, but with the return of better harvests by 1887, it again became necessary to organize the exporting of grain, and the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange was re-established on 24 November 1887. The first wheat futures market was not instituted until 1904, but in its earlier years the Exchange provided several essential services to the trade. In addition to its primary purpose of serving as a meeting place for the buyers and sellers of grains, it exercised a number of functions later to be placed

under government control, including the establishment of grades and standards, and the hiring of an inspector to grade farmers' grains.

From about 1879 onward, grain merchants began to build flat warehouses and elevators to store their grain. The first elevator, a round structure, was built at Niverville, Manitoba in 1879 by William Hespeler, a Canadian Immigration Agent who brought a group of Mennonite families to the area in 1874. The first square, standard elevator, patterned after similar structures in the United States, is reputed to be one built by Ogilvie at Gretna in 1881.

At first, flat warehouses outnumbered elevators, because of their lower initial cost, but as time went on elevators became more numerous. Whereas in 1890 there were 90 elevators and 103 warehouses at 63 points in Manitoba and the Northwest, by 1899 there were 410 elevators and 116 warehouses at 192 delivery points. Much of the encouragement for the switch to elevators came from the CPR through its "standard elevator" policy. Unable to finance construction of its own line of elevators, but anxious to realize the very significant benefits in terms of box car turnaround that elevators made possible, the railway offered a free rail site to anyone prepared to build a "standard" elevator of not less than 25,000 bushels capacity, powered by a steam or gasoline engine, and equipped with a grain cleaner. The railway further undertook to protect the elevator operator by not allowing loading at that point from flat warehouses or farm wagons.

At first, most of the warehouses and grain elevators were owned by individuals or by small unincorporated firms. Among these were Roblin & Atkinson, Campbell & Green, Martin, Mitchell & Co., McMillan & Co., and Nicholas Bawlf. But the small operators found the two eastern-backed line companies, Ogilvie and Lake of the Woods, to be very stiff competition indeed, and were quick to recognize the advantages that the line concept could offer through systematized operation and skilled management. This realization provided the impetus for smaller firms to consolidate and to organize the joint-stock companies that became our first indigenous line elevator firms. By 1899, of the 410 elevators and 116 warehouses in operation,



Manitoba Archives

Sir Daniel McMillan, merchant and politician, photographed in later life.

approximately half were operated by the line companies, or "syndicates" as they were sometimes called.

Among the earliest of the "made in Manitoba" line companies were the Northern Elevator Company, the Dominion Elevator Company, the Winnipeg Elevator Company and the Canadian Elevator Company. Associated with their establishment were Nicholas Bawlf, Thomas Bready, Samuel Clark, George Crowe, Daniel and William McMillan, and other early Winnipeg businessmen to whose activities and accomplishments we shall now turn.

Nicholas Bawlf was the preeminent Winnipeg grain merchant of his day, and has been called "one of the fathers of Western Canada's grain trade". An early grain merchant, and a founding member of the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange, Bawlf's involvement in the western grain industry extended, during his lengthy career, to the Northern Elevator Company, the N. Bawlf Grain Company, the Alberta Grain Company, the Alberta Pacific Grain Company,

Winnipeg City Mills advertisement, 1879.

WINNIPEG CITY MILLS.

D. H. McMILLAN, PROPRIETOR.

Dealer in flour, grain, and feed. Specialty Patent Process Flour, guaranteed to give satisfaction.

Foot of Post-Office-St., - - Winnipeg, Man.

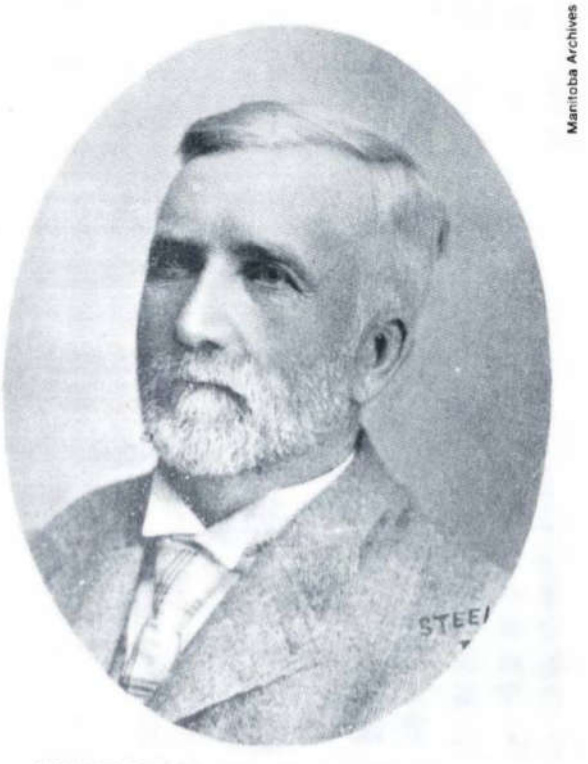
the Empire Elevator Company, and the Fort William Elevator Company.

Born at Smith's Falls, Ontario, in 1849, Bawlf was employed there as a moulder in a local foundry until 1877 when he and his wife left to seek their fortune in Winnipeg. In the West, Bawlf became involved almost immediately in the retailing of flour and feed as well as the curing of raw hides, an industry which he also pioneered in the Northwest.

In 1888, the Bawlf retail grain and feed business was taken over by a brother, Dennis Bawlf, leaving Nicholas free to concentrate his efforts exclusively in the wholesale grain trade. The activities of the N. Bawlf Company soon extended to the buying of grain through warehouse facilities in several Manitoba communities. Bawlf had little capital to begin with, but continued to plough his profits into new warehouses so that by 1891 the company was represented at ten stations. The marketing of oats was a Bawlf specialty, and for this reason the company tended to be represented in prime oat growing areas.

In 1893, Bawlf and several business associates, among them Arthur Atkinson, Rodmond Roblin, Herbert and George Crowe, Samuel Clark and James Mitchell, formed the Northern Elevator Company of which Bawlf became president. To this new company most of the handling and storage facilities owned by Bawlf and his associates were subsequently transferred.

Two men who were, along with Bawlf, particularly active in the promotion and operation of this new company were George Crowe, and Samuel Clark. George Crowe had come to Winnipeg in 1879 to build the CPR rail line through Kenora, Ontario. In 1883 he went into the lumber business at Point Douglas, but by 1890 was exclusively a grain dealer in his brother's firm of H. Crowe and Company. In 1899 he went to New York to learn the export business, and in 1900 he was appointed manager of the Northern Elevator Company. In 1895 Crowe served a term as president of the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange and he was, during his career, president of the Empire Elevator Company and a director of the Royal Bank, the Great-West Life Assurance Company, and several other companies in the financial and insurance industries. The grain trade was always his chief interest, however, and when Crowe died in 1924 the late James Richardson said: "(George Crowe) will always be regarded with esteem as one of the pioneers of the grain trade in western Canada."



Manitoba Archives

Nicholas Bawlf, remembered for his skill and integrity.

The printer made a mistake in this 1879 ad for the new Bawlf firm.

ESTABLISHED 1878.

N. BALWF,

PRODUCE & COMMISSION MERCHANT.

DEALER IN

Flour, Feed, Grain, Hides, Sheep Skins,

Radiger's Block, 350 & 352 Main Street.

Manitoba Archives

The Winnipeg Grain Exchange, late nineteenth century.

Like Crowe, Samuel Clark began his career as a railroad contractor, having been engaged in the construction of rail lines in the Dakotas before coming to Winnipeg just prior to the formation of the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange, which he helped to establish. He soon became recognized in Winnipeg grain circles as "an authority whose advice was eagerly sought and greatly appreciated", and much of the early success of Northern can be attributed to Clark's ability and efforts.

From approximately 50 locations in 1893 the Northern Elevator Company's representation throughout Manitoba and the Northwest expanded to 100 handling points by 1898. As with most pioneering ventures, there were difficult years, most notably 1900 when Manitoba's wheat crop yielded on average less than nine bushels per acre. But the continuing success of the Northern and its wide acceptance throughout the farming community easily vindicated the organizational and managerial skills of its founders and their faith in the line elevator approach to grain marketing.

The Northern Elevator Company was sold to F.H. Peavey & Co. of Minneapolis in 1909. Following the sale, George Crowe stayed on under the firm's new ownership and was appointed president of Northern. Samuel Clark left the firm in 1910 and went into partnership with William Martin, a pioneer Winnipeg grain trader. Their grain, stock and bond brokerage firm, Clark & Martin, was reputed to have one of the largest wire systems on the continent at that time.

After the sale of Northern in 1909, Nicholas Bawlf formed, with his son William, the N. Bawlf Grain Company. This new company in turn operated a line of elevators that numbered more than 100 by 1918. In 1928, with the growing popularity of public stock issues as a means of raising investor capital, the firm was taken public. Eventually, in 1940, the company's elevator line was taken over by Henry Sellers and divided between the Sellers-controlled Federal Grain Limited and Alberta Pacific Grain Company.

In 1890 the first branch rail line in Alberta, built by the Calgary and Edmonton Railway, was completed to run northward from the CPR line at Calgary to Strathcona, now a suburb of Edmonton. Eager to enter this new area where oat production seemed particularly well suited to the relatively short frost-free period, Nicholas Bawlf and several associates in 1899 organized the Alberta Grain Company. From one elevator

at Strathcona the line grew to 40 elevators by 1911, all within a hundred miles of Edmonton. In 1912, the Alberta Grain Company was merged with the failing Alberta Pacific Elevator Company to form the Alberta Pacific Grain Company. Within a few years this new firm, with Bawlf as president and R.B. Bennett and Max Aitken (later Lord Beaverbrook) as major shareholders, became the largest privately owned line company in the West.

From 1883 when the first terminal elevator was built at the lakehead by the CPR, until 1904 all terminal warehouse facilities in Port Arthur and Fort William were owned by the railways. But the mutual advantages of joint country and terminal elevator ownership or association as a means for the line to share in the profits of terminal operation as well as for terminal operators to be assured of a steady flow of grain shipments to their houses, soon became apparent. In 1904 two public elevators were built at Fort William, by the Ogilvie Milling Company and by the Empire Elevator Company of which Nicholas Bawlf was the organizer. In 1907 Bawlf formed the Fort William Elevator Company which built a second Bawlf-owned terminal in Fort William.

The important role played by Nicholas Bawlf in the organization of the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange, the forerunner of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, is also worthy of note. Bawlf was associated with the abortive attempt to form an exchange in 1883, and was a founding member of the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange in 1887 and a member of its first general committee. He was president of the Exchange in 1890 and again in 1897, and in 1892 the Exchange accepted the offer of Nicholas Bawlf to lease space in a building which he erected on Market Square — the first "Grain Exchange Building" in Winnipeg.

Nicholas Bawlf died of a stroke in December of 1914. In his adopted city of Winnipeg, as well as in the Canadian grain trade, he is remembered for his integrity and his contribution to the public welfare as well as for his entrepreneurial skills and business enterprise.

Western Canadian grain elevator, early twentieth century.

Manitoba Archives

Manitoba Archives

Samuel McGaw, Western Canada Flour Mills.

As was earlier stated, the first flour mill in what is now central Winnipeg was built on the west bank of the Red River at the foot of Lombard Avenue in 1879 by Daniel H. McMillan. Nine years earlier, in 1870, McMillan had come west from his native Ontario to help quell the first Riel Rebellion as a member of the famous expeditionary force led by Colonel Garnet Wolseley. Like many of his comrades, McMillan remained in Manitoba following the completion of his duties with the Wolseley Expedition and in 1875 he was joined by his brother William.

Although the establishment of the "City Mills" flour mill was one of Daniel McMillan's most significant business endeavours, and he was a prime organizer and the first president of the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange, these accomplishments have been overshadowed in the annals of Manitoba history by his outstanding career in the public life of the province, beginning with his election to the Manitoba Legislature in 1880. In 1889 he was appointed Provincial Treasurer; from 1900 to 1910 he served as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba; and in 1902 he received a knighthood. In his later business life McMillan was president of Northern Crown Bank and a director of the Great-West Life Assurance Company.

William W. McMillan was at first briefly associated with John McKechnie in the Winnipeg Foundry Company, later to become Vulcan Iron Works, but in 1882 he joined his brother Daniel in the milling and grain business. In about 1886 the mill was sold and the McMillans confined their efforts entirely to the grain business, first under the name of D.H. McMillan and Bro., and, from 1888 to 1899, D.H. McMillan & Co.

In 1897, four years after the formation of the Northern Elevator Company by Nicholas Bawlf, the McMillan brothers with Rodmond Roblin organized the Dominion Elevator Company, Manitoba's second line elevator company. Roblin became the company's first president, and, in addition to the McMillans, the first directors of Dominion were Robert Muir, Frederick Phillipps, Samuel A. McGaw, and Hugh S. Paterson.

Several of these first directors are worthy of special note. Samuel McGaw, who was the secretary of the company, was, like McMillan, an experienced flour miller. An Irishman by birth, he had begun his Canadian career with A.W. Ogilvie Flour Mills. He came to Winnipeg in 1882, and in 1889 was appointed western manager for the Lake of the Woods Milling Company. In 1894 he served as president of the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange. A few years later, in 1905, together with Andrew Kelly, McGaw was to found the very successful milling and elevator firm of Western Canada Flour Mills.

H.S. Paterson was, as early as 1893, a grain dealer at Portage la Prairie, and in Winnipeg by 1899. His son, Norman M. Paterson was later to establish the firm of N.M. Paterson & Sons which continues today as a major grain elevator and lake vessel owner.

Rodmond Roblin, though active in the Winnipeg grain trade in its early years, and a promoter of both the Northern and the Dominion Elevator Companies, is, like Sir Daniel McMillan, better known for his activities in the public life of Manitoba, most notably as its premier from 1900 to 1915.

The Dominion line of elevators might be said to have been in the "mid-sized" category, the total number of its licensed facilities never exceeding 52 elevators, most of which were situated within the province of Manitoba.

Yet another notable among Winnipeg's early grain trading fraternity was Thomas Bready, or "Father Bready" as he was affectionately known. Bready came to Winnipeg in 1883 from Thetford, Ontario, where he had specialized in barley merchandising. After a short period in the hotel business in Winnipeg he joined the D.H. McMillan firm and several years later was in partnership with S.P. Clark.

In 1898, Bready entered a partnership with John Love and Charles Tryon who had come to Winnipeg from Grenfell, where they had worked as bankers and general merchants. The new firm, the Bready, Love and Tryon Company, built about 40 elevators in its first year. When in the following year the partnership was joined by grain traders James Carruthers and Charles Band of Toronto, the company was incorpo-

John Palliser: Assessing the prairies.

Manitoba Archives

Sir Rodmond Roblin, businessman and premier.

rated as the Winnipeg Elevator Company. Bready was the firm's president but he died of a stroke in 1903 and was succeeded in the presidency by Love who was also the firm's manager.

Two American businessmen who came early to the Winnipeg grain trade were Alvin Godfrey and William McWilliams, and together they founded the Canadian Elevator Company in 1902. A native of St. Louis, Missouri and a graduate in law from the University of Minnesota, Godfrey had been with the Van Dusen Harrington and Peavey companies in Minneapolis before coming to Winnipeg in 1902. Beside assisting in the formation of the Canadian Elevator Company, he formed the Monarch Lumber Company and was for a time its president and general manager.

Although he was born in Peterborough, Ontario, William McWilliams had also begun a career in the grain trade in Minneapolis before returning to Canada in 1902. Like Godfrey, McWilliams helped to found both the Canadian Elevator Company and the Monarch Lumber Company. He also founded the Thunder Bay Elevator Company which constructed one of the first terminals in Port Arthur in 1909.

In 1910 Canadian acquired the Winnipeg Elevator Company of which McWilliams then became presi-

Thomas Bready, President, Winnipeg Elevator Company, circa 1900.

Manitoba Archives

Manitoba Archives

William Linton Parrish, grain merchant.

dent. With this acquisition the Canadian line operated elevator facilities at over 100 locations of which almost 70 were in the province of Saskatchewan and 40 in Manitoba.

The Canadian and Dominion Elevator Companies were merged in 1928 to become the Canadian Consolidated Grain Company, later sold to the United Grain Growers.

An account of the events that shaped the western grain industry would not be complete without some reference to several entrepreneurs who, while they were not among the earliest business inhabitants of Winnipeg's Exchange District, established in the early years of this century the only private elevator lines that have survived intact to the present day. Among these are James Richardson and his sons George and Henry, Norman M. Paterson, and William L. Parrish.

The significant role of James Richardson & Sons in arranging the first wheat shipment from the head of the lakes in 1883 has already been mentioned. Then headquartered in Kingston, Ontario, the Richardson firm had been established in 1857 and had appointed Edward O'Reilly as its first western representative in 1880. By 1896 O'Reilly occupied a permanent office in the first Grain Exchange Building, at first under the name of E. O'Reilly Grain, and, beginning about 1902, James Richardson & Sons. At about the same time Richardson elevators and warehouses began to appear along prairie rail lines, later to be incorporated into the Richardson-owned Pioneer Grain Company, formed in 1913 and today the largest privately owned grain elevator company in Canada.

Norman Paterson, the son of an early Manitoba grain merchant, entered the grain business with his father in 1903 and in 1908 established N.M. Paterson & Co., later to become N.M. Paterson & Sons. At first Paterson was a track buyer and commission merchant only, but he soon became involved in country elevator operation through the Interior Elevator Company which he founded in 1914 and which was amalgamated with the parent company in 1920. The Paterson firm continues to operate country elevators in Manitoba and Saskatchewan and, through its Steamship Division, a fleet of freighters on the Great Lakes. Created an Officer of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in 1937, appointed to the Canadian Senate in 1940, Norman Paterson was active almost until the time of his death in his one hundredth year in 1983.

William Parrish came west from Ontario in 1881. After homesteading at Millford, Manitoba, he went into the grain business in Brandon with his father, Samuel Parrish. For a time he was in partnership with William Lindsay in Brandon and later in Winnipeg, in the firm of Parrish & Lindsay, grain merchants. In 1909 a new partnership was formed with Norman G. Heimbecker who came to Winnipeg in 1905 from Waterloo, Ontario. Initially the firm of Parrish & Heimbecker were track buyers and commission merchants, but since 1918 Parrish & Heimbecker grain elevators have been a permanent part of the prairie landscape.

Few areas in Canada, perhaps none in the West, are as steeped in commercial history as Winnipeg's Exchange District. Of that history the development of our western grain industry forms an integral part. Today, as this historic area takes on a new and different existence as a tourist attraction and cultural enclave, it is fitting that through its name at least, the memory of its past associations has been preserved. ♦

Winnipeg agrologist Charles W. Anderson is working on a book on the history of the grain business in Western Canada.

William Francis Butler And the Great Lone Land

BY J. I. MANORE

Mounting upon a crag which guarded the head of the rapid, I waved to the leading canoe as it swept along. In the centre sat a figure in uniform with forage-cap on head, and I could see that he was scanning through a field-glass the strange figure that waved a welcome from the rock . . . The officer . . . recognizing a face he had last seen three months before in the hotel at Toronto, called out, 'Where on earth have you dropped from?' and with a "Fort Garry, twelve days out, sir," I was in his boat.

Thus William Francis Butler described his meeting at Rainy Lake in Northern Ontario with Colonel Garnet Wolseley, leader of the Anglo-Canadian military expedition from Eastern Canada to Fort Garry in the summer of 1870. Butler's connection with the Expedition was typical of the man.

Some months before, Lieutenant Butler's twelve-year army career had seemed at an end when he could not raise the £1,500 necessary to purchase a captaincy. While at home in Ireland pondering his uncertain future he heard of the expedition and, acting immediately, dashed off a cable to Wolseley in Canada: "Please remember me". He explains his terseness by saying that the cost of the cable was ten shillings a word and that his whole message, including address and signature, had to be contained in no more than ten. Then, without waiting for a reply, he caught the first steamer to America.

When Wolseley told him in Toronto that all places in the expedition were filled, Butler, wholly in character, suggested a job for himself. He would travel alone to Fort Garry through the United States intending to learn of any American interference with the Expedition's march or with the Riel Rebellion. He would also investigate the "lay of the land" at Fort Garry. Wolseley agreed that this would be a good thing to do and the government approved; and on 13 June 1870, just two months after his cable, Butler set out on his journey to the West.

His description of the trip from Toronto to the Red River settlement is a classic in itself: by rail, steamboat, cart, on foot and on horseback, through clouds of mosquitoes known to have driven horses mad, he made his way. Slipping past the rebel-held Fort Garry by night (not without danger, for armed patrols were looking for him), he reached an English settlement and was kindly received.

After a few days spent in preparing to go and meet Wolseley, Butler was informed that the rebellion's leader, Louis Riel, wished to see him. He did in fact

want to have a look inside Fort Garry for Wolseley's information, and went to the fort for that purpose. Once inside, and after seeing what defences and garrison consisted of, he insisted that Riel come to the room where Butler awaited him, rather than himself being ushered into Riel's presence as a caller.

"Motioning M. Riel to be seated, I took a chair myself . . ." Butler wrote rather smugly, as if he were the self-proclaimed president and Riel the subaltern. In the course of the conversation he was unable to learn of Riel's intention to fight or not to fight the expedition, but his assessment of the rebel force was not a high one.

Then he set off with guides to meet Wolseley — down the Red River, across Lake Winnipeg, up the Winnipeg River to Lake of the Woods and across it, up the Rainy River to the lake of the same name — almost 400 miles, much of it against the current. "To tell the mere work of each day is no difficult matter: start at five o'clock a.m., halt for breakfast at seven o'clock, off again at eight, halt at one o'clock for dinner, away at two o'clock, paddle until sunset at 7:30 . . .". Butler loved every second of it. "The days that now commenced to pass were filled from dawn to dark with moments of keenest enjoyment, every thing was new and strange, and each hour brought with it some fresh surprise of Indian skill or Indian scenery."

On the expedition's arrival at Fort Garry, Riel and his men decamped without waiting to be captured, and the province's constitutional government was soon installed. Once again Butler was at loose ends. "I was about to go back to the old associations and life-rusting routine," he wrote, but then another opportunity was presented to him.

"I am going to ask you," said Manitoba's new Lieutenant-Governor, Adams Archibald, "if you will accept a mission to the Saskatchewan Valley and through the Indian countries of the West. Take a couple of days to think over it and let me know your decision."

In a line that *Boy's Own* magazine would have been proud of, Butler replied: "There is no necessity, sir, to consider the matter, I have already made up my mind, and, if necessary, will start in half an hour."

This man was then in his early thirties and no stranger to rough travel and society. A soldier's son, born into an ancient Irish family, he had been intrigued as a boy by the martial and adventurous tales of Peninsular War veterans settled near his home. As soon as it could be arranged, family influence got him gazetted in the 69th Regiment, and his army service had taken him to India, Burma and Canada. In Canada he had worked with the Canadian militia in Southern Ontario, and he had travelled privately in the American West a couple of years before. Moreover, his latest Canadian adventure had given experience on the rivers

Public Archives of Canada

Sir William Butler in his prime.

and lakes. But the journey he was now to undertake dwarfed all the rest in purpose, scope and peril.

For some time there had been complaints about disorders among the prairie people and the lack of protection to life and property on the Great Plains. The Hudson's Bay Company was the only organized concern in this vast area at that time, and the HBC had no civil authority in lands newly taken over by the Dominion. Butler's trail was to take him to the Rocky Mountains and back. He was to observe the numbers and conditions of Indians and their types, the effect of smallpox upon the people, and the state of the fur trade and of trade with the United States. He was to make an "independent review" and avoid inducing the Indians or others to "form any expectations based on his enquiries". Quite a tall order.

Nothing daunted, Butler left Fort Garry on 24 October, armed with a commission as Justice of the Peace, a "sixteen shooter" for protection, and a stock of smallpox medicine, which promptly froze and was probably useless anyway. For transport, there were five horses and a Red River cart; for company, a guide and an officer of the HBC on his way to a western post. The plan was to cross the prairie on a north-westerly course, strike the North Saskatchewan River near modern Prince Albert, then follow the river west to its source in the mountains.

"The days that now commenced . . . were filled with unceasing travel," Butler recounted, and this was no

"Working up the Winnipeg", illustration from The Great Lone Land, 1872.

overstatement, as he reached Fort Ellice near the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine Rivers in five days and two hours, a distance of 230 miles. The next leg, through the Touchwood Hills to the partially-frozen and dangerous South Saskatchewan River, saw 560 miles conquered in 12 days. "I would not have believed it possible," he wrote, "that horses could travel the daily distance that mine did . . . upon the food they had to eat." He does not emphasize the physical strain upon himself and his companions.

Nevertheless, the horses carried the party to Fort Edmonton in 22 days of actual travel, 33 of elapsed time, a distance of about 1,000 miles; thence on 180 miles in five days to Rocky Mountain House, the HBC's westernmost prairie fort (west of modern Red Deer, Alberta). Here Butler paused to consider his next move.

It had been his intention to head south from this point through the country of the warlike Blackfoot to Montana, in order to ascertain their condition. But no guides willing to risk this dangerous trip could be found; so he "turned [his] steps, for the first time during many months, towards the East".

Back at Fort Edmonton he exchanged horses for dogs and used them all the way home. Dog-travel was a novelty for him, but he quickly learned to manage these marvellous haulers, although aghast at the cruelties inflicted upon them by their regular drivers. The longer return route followed the North Saskatchewan River and the frozen Lakes Winnipegosis and Manitoba; and he reached Fort Garry in good health and in triumph, having sped about 2,700 miles in an elapsed time of 119 autumn and frost-hard winter days.

Speed was not necessarily an object of Butler's odyssey, for no deadline had been imposed upon him, but there seemed little purpose in lingering on a trail across open country where no other human being was encountered for days on end. It was in the vicinity of HBC posts, established at natural crossroads and the confluences of rivers, that people were to be found, and it was only by speaking with people that he could gather the information he was seeking.

His pauses in these places of relative comfort served to rest his animals and allow him to "nose around". Butler himself seemed never to rest, for his keen observations of conditions and personalities at even the tiniest settlement often run to several pages.

This remarkable journey was made by a man who was described at Fort Garry as being of "magnificent physique and almost gigantic stature", and, indeed, his strength, stamina and energy must have been phenomenal. He thought nothing of taking an hour at the end of a day's march to climb a lookout for a view of

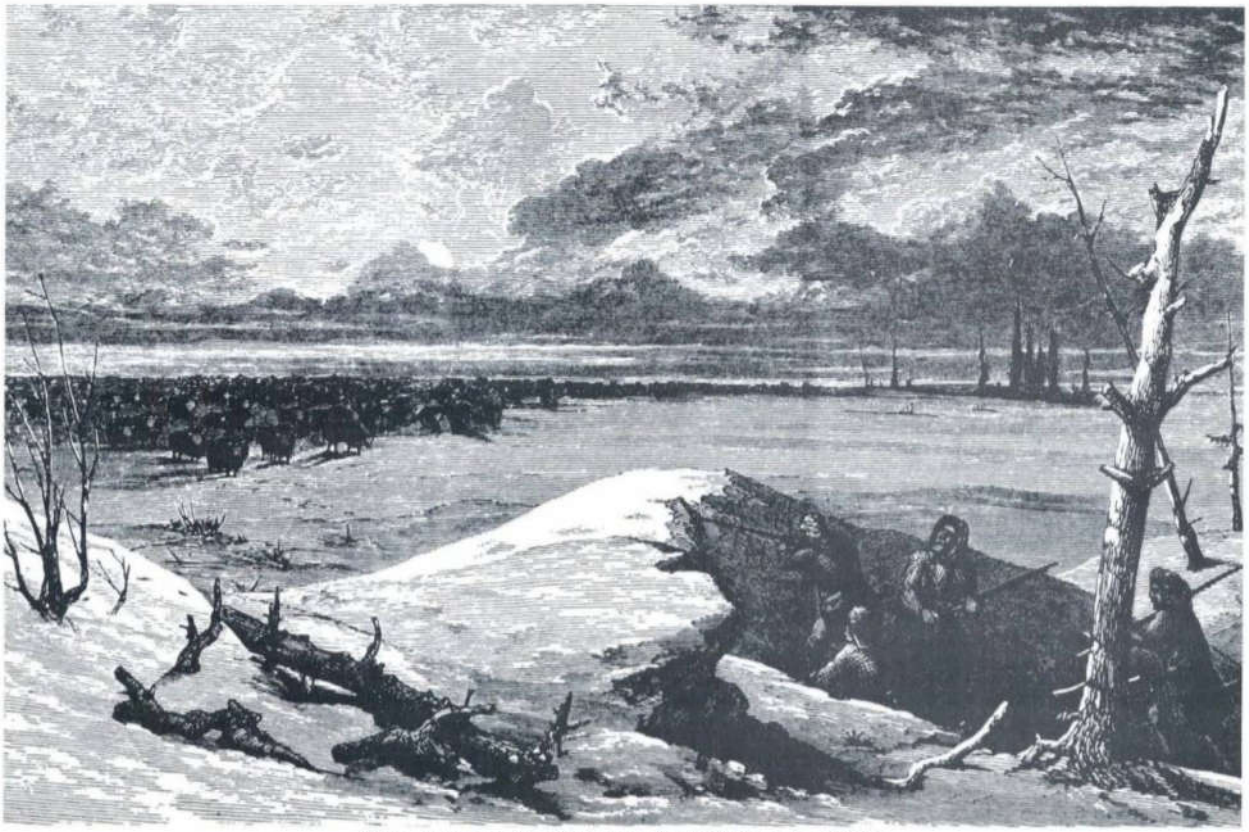
"The Rocky Mountains at the sources of the Saskatchewan", from The Great Lone Land.

the country, and one imagines him lying on an elbow, writing notes by firelight in a temperature of 35 degrees below zero. A photograph taken long after these events shows him with broad, intellectual forehead under a full head of dark hair, Dundreary whiskers and moustache, one elbow resting on a pedestal, the other hand on hip, clutching hat and stick. He looks in the photograph as if he would be ready in an instant to shuck his stylish clothes and grab a paddle or dog-whip, or tame an unruly horse.

Butler's report, which he says toward the end "had already reached proportions very much longer than I had intended," touched on each of his instructions and painted a dreadful picture of life (or lack of it) on the Plains. He estimated that there were then only about 27,500 Indians of the various tribes, mostly Cree, between Fort Garry and the Rockies, and perhaps 2,000 people of mixed race. Smallpox had been devastating over the past few years and would undoubtedly continue its ravages in the spring of 1871. Acts considered outrageous in civilization had been committed by Indian and white alike. The HBC had been reluctant to attempt to exert any stabilizing influence which might antagonize their customers (on whose sufferance the Company depended), and these same customers carried on among themselves an increasing warfare which had long been traditional. ". . . they are accustomed to regard murder as honourable; war, robbery and pillage as the traits most ennobling to manhood . . .". And the enmity of Indian to white would increase as the livelihood of the Indians disappeared with the buffalo, the wolf and the fox, which many whites were killing indiscriminately. He execrates the American policy of murderous suppression of Indians, and the activities of "Free Traders", private individuals, including Americans, who were supplying Indians with magazine rifles and whisky. He is not too keen on missionaries, either, whose well-meant preachings have made Indians "utterly confused, unsettled and suspicious"; or of miners who, were gold to be found in quantity, would gather it in their own ways without any regard to the welfare of the Indians.

Finally, he points out that HBC operations were declining as a result of the decimation of prairie animals and the incursions of the free traders. If something were not soon done to make the Fertile Belt along the Saskatchewan River suitable for settlement, all trade would be in a north-south direction, and this would have an incalculable effect upon the shape of Canada.

Butler recommended that the Dominion establish civil authority on the plains in the person of a commissioner or magistrate, entirely separate from the



"Sunset scene, with buffalo", from The Wild North Land, 1873.

HBC. This officer, who should be selected with great care, would adjudicate land claims, negotiate treaties with the Indians, and keep the Queen's peace for the benefit of all. To assist him, he should have "a well-equipped force of from 100 to 150 men, one-third mounted, specially recruited and engaged for service in the Saskatchewan". This and other advice led to the formation of the North West Mounted Police, which became in time the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

No doubt the substance of Butler's report already existed in scattered form in the HBC's archives, but these were not necessarily available to the government. His was the first attempt to describe comprehensively the conditions of all the prairie people. Its observations and recommendations were a basis for the orderly administration of a huge, troubled area, and for this reason the report must be given place among the great documents of Canadian history.

Butler wrote a book describing his 1870-71 adventures which was an immediate success, and *The Great Lone Land* is still being reprinted. This is not only because of its obvious historical value, but because even today it remains an exciting story. In a later book, *The Wild North Land*, he described a private journey (1872-73) from Fort Garry to the Pacific via the Peace River and the low, northern passes of the Rockies. In this book he recommended that the Canadian Pacific Railway follow that route. Many agreed with him but, for various reasons, the railway was built far to the south.

This Victorian soldier had all the physical attributes of a great explorer and the thirst for adventure which characterised so many of them. In the intellectual sphere, Wolseley put him in the class of genius and admitted him to the "Wolseley clique", which virtually controlled senior appointments in the British Army for the last quarter of the century. A contemporary, Lieutenant-General Sir Redvers Buller, said thirty years later, ". . . I was in Winnipeg in the Red River Expedition in 1870 [and] it was arranged that I should go west . . . but I was required by my regiment and Butler went instead, and a very good thing too; for he wrote a very good book describing his journey, which I could not have done." Bless Sir Redvers's regiment. King Edward VII was told that, "There is no doubt that he [Butler] is among the ablest of Your Majesty's servants. Intellectually he stands (as he does physically) head and shoulders above the majority of his comrades."

With Wolseley's blessing as early as 1870, it is not surprising that Butler achieved high rank in the Army. His later service abroad was in the Ashanti and Zulu

Wars, at Tel-el-Kebir (1882), and in the Gordon Relief Expedition of 1885, where Wolseley put him in charge of boat transport up the Nile. He took his tours of duty in the War Office, too, where he developed a hearty dislike of army contractors who, in the face of all military reason, would not provide decent equipment for the Army. He served also at Aldershot where, he wrote, he "helped the Army to prepare for the next disaster". His two overseas commands were as Commander-in-Chief in Egypt (1890-93) and in South Africa (1898-99).

He might have gone even farther in his profession had he not been a Catholic, and well-known for his Irish nationalism, his anti-imperialism, and his outspoken sympathy for the native peoples he was expected as a soldier to conquer. Of the Plains Indian he wrote in 1870: "The possession of those same noble qualities which we effect to reverence among our nations makes us kill him". He saw, where many others did not, these same "noble qualities" in Asians and black Africans and Boers, and was relieved of his South African command in 1899 because of his stated aversion to going to war with the latter.

Almost 20 books from Butler's hand show his great depth of thought and observation as a soldier-philosopher and his mastery of style. His expressive prose conjures breathtaking sweeps of prairie, river and mountain; and his narrative of events on the trail carries the reader with him to share the pride of accomplishment of a day's travel, and also to endure vicariously the discomfort and fatigue of the march.

His observations of people he met along his way are pungent, but he identifies only those for whom he had some admiration. Wolseley, for example, is highly praised, possibly for good career reasons. HBC officers are generally mentioned as being helpful and honest, and he cannot speak too highly of some of his Indian guides. Father Lacombe, the famous prairie missionary, seems to be an exception to his general opinion of clergymen. Americans are usually caricatured in the fashion so often seen in *Punch* cartoons of the period — oddly dressed, brash, and speaking in outlandish accents.

Butler's scholarship is demonstrated by his knowledge of those who had gone before him: Hearne, Mackenzie, Fraser, Thompson, Palliser and others. He was aware of how the HBC had come and prospered. He knew all about the history of Anglo-American relations and, oddly for an anti-imperialist, wrote scathingly about those imperial officials who ceded great tracts of British North America to American "Manifest Destiny" without having any idea of what it was they were giving away. He tells all this in the context of a comprehensive knowledge of drainage basins, slopes, elevations, flora and fauna. Whenever news of the Franco-Prussian War reached him (which was seldom), his prescience realised the effect of this war upon power relationships which could well influence European affairs for generations. If Garnet Wolseley could be "glorified" in song as "The Very Model of a Modern Major General" then truly William Butler deserved in 1870 to be called "The Very Model of a Modern Subaltern".

"A Radical General" by Spy, from Vanity Fair. Butler in old age.

After a life exceptional for its achievements, the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Sir William Butler died peacefully at his Irish home in 1910. One is permitted to think that his final thoughts were of Indian and river, prairie and snow-covered mountain, long days on horseback and dogsled, and the flicker of his tiny campfire in the immense blackness of what he called The Great Lone Land. ♦

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Assiginack's Canoe

Memories of Indian Warfare On the Great Lakes

By J. GARTH TAYLOR

A decorated bark canoe, paddled by painted Indian warriors, was once a common sight on the Great Lakes. But of the many who must have witnessed such a colourful spectacle, few have left a visual record of their impressions for posterity. A rare exception was Jean-Baptiste Assiginack, an Ottawa (Odawa) chief and veteran of the War of 1812, who drew upon his own experience to create a unique historical document in three dimensions.

Assiginack's depiction of an early nineteenth century war canoe and its crew is now housed at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The three-foot long canoe model, older by far than any of the full-sized bark watercraft in the museum's collections, illustrates an early variant of the high-ended style once favoured by various Algonquian tribes, including Ottawa, in the Upper Great Lakes. It also displays a type of canoe decoration, painted on both bark cover and wooden framework, that is poorly known from written accounts and extremely rare in ethnographic collections.

The carved wooden figures are also decorated, with red and black war paint on both heads and bodies. They are clothed in red and blue woolen leggings and breechclouts, with garters, belts and neckerchiefs of silk or cotton. The paddler in the stern wears tiny leather moccasins which, though not much larger than a silver dollar, have very finely puckered seams.

In addition to being a rich source of ethnographic detail, Assiginack's war party acquires historical value from the fact that the carved figures represent real chiefs and warriors. This information comes from a contemporary manuscript which lists and gives fascinating biographical details about the different paddlers. While the author of these remarks has not yet been identified, he was obviously someone who knew Assiginack personally. He describes the Ottawa chief as an excellent speaker, a brave warrior and an ingenious workman. Referring to the canoe and figures, the anonymous writer notes that Assiginack "occasionally amuses himself in performing little works of this kind". Later he adds the interesting information that Assiginack undertook such works "at the request of his friends who wish to send them as Curiosities to Europe".

The first name to appear on the muster-roll of Assiginack's war party is Mokomanish, also known as Little Knife. He is announced as an eminent war chief who distinguished himself in "the late American War". We are told how Mokomanish, with nine of his "young men", had fallen upon a party of Americans on the River Wabash. During the fray, in which the chief received a "severe wound" in his knee, he and his warriors killed nine U.S. soldiers and took one prisoner. The anonymous manuscript further notes that Mokomanish was praised by the whites for treating his prisoner with humanity, but that "his own tribe reproached him and called him a fool for allowing a prisoner who was completely in his power to live after having been wounded himself".

Corroboration and additional detail concerning this incident have been recently discovered in a testimonial letter, presented to Mokomanish by Lt. Col. Robert McDowall, British Commander at Fort Michilimackinac. According to the letter, dated 8 June 1815, Mokomanish not only spared the life of his American prisoner, but brought him "with kindness and attention to the garrison". McDowall also states that he presented Mokomanish with a silver-mounted sword "in testimony of my great approbation of his conduct upon this occasion, which will be gratifying to the King, his great Father, and to encourage similar acts of mercy to the unresisting and vanquished".

The second person listed in the manuscript that accompanied Assiginack's war party was Blackbird. He is described as a very distinguished orator who "complains bitterly of the state of slavery to which his tribe are reduced since the war". There were apparently several Indians around the Upper Great Lakes who were known in English as "Blackbird", including Assiginack himself, but this one seems to be the Ottawa chief whose son, Andrew J. Blackbird, was author of a *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan*. In this book, published in 1887, Andrew Blackbird points out that his father's Indian name, "Mackadepenessy", actually meant Black Hawk. He also writes that his father, said to be "quite an orator", was at one time head speaker in the council of the Ottawa and Chippewa.

The next names on the list are Cub Bear and Bird of Day, briefly dismissed as a pair of "no particular importance". They are followed by Clap of Thunder at Night, described as a great warchief who was renowned for his brave exploits and for his accuracy in foretelling events by his dreams. We are then suddenly informed that "He has been deserted by ten wives on account of the jealousy of his disposition and his immoderate love of spirituous liquors".

The sixth person is Crawfish, recalled as a "trusty Indian" who had been employed every winter for many years to carry public dispatches from "this Port" to York, the seat of government in Upper Canada. He performed his six-week trip on snowshoes, carrying his provisions on his back. The writer ends on the sad note that Crawfish had lately met with an accident and that he would no longer be able to render service as a postman. Having broken his leg, he "now languishes in great pain".

There is a seventh name on the list, which is consistent with the observation that Assiginack's war party, now comprising half a dozen figures, was orginally seven paddlers strong. The seventh name is "Esh-quoi-can-nai-be", translated as "Standing behind us in

reserve". He was the cook, which is portrayed as "one of the most honourable occupations amongst the Indians". His duties included "the entire management" of kettles, dishes, spoons and provisions and he was "entrusted with all the Chiefs secrets and often with his Affects". We are also informed that, when serving up the meat, the cook always reserved the best piece for himself.

Some of these lively biographical comments contain clues which can be used to establish the approximate age and place of origin of both the anonymous manuscript and the artifact to which it refers. For example, a clear reference to the War of 1812 as "the late American war" indicates that the document must have been written after 1814. On the other hand, since the text refers to the capital of Upper Canada as York, it must have been written before 1834, the year in which that name was changed to Toronto.

Knowing that the document originates in the 1815-1834 time period, it becomes easier to evaluate clues which hint at its place of origin. Several comments suggest that the location, referred to only as "this Port", was a very isolated British outpost. During winter the only communication was with York, reached on snowshoes "through an uninhabited country" and reckoned to be at least 300 miles distant. Letters from Montreal were said to come in May, when the first express canoe arrived after a trip of only 10 days.

All of these facts point toward Drummond Island, situated at the northern end of Lake Huron. Following the War of 1812, this was the site of the most westerly British military outpost in North America. It was occupied from 1815, when British troops were withdrawn from American territory, until 1828, when the International Boundary Commission ruled that Drummond Island should also belong to the U.S. Records from the island indicate that Assiginack lived there from 1815 to 1827, during which time he was employed as interpreter for the British Indian Department. Circumstantial evidence thus makes it likely that it was during this period he carved his war party.

The author of the anonymous manuscript, though not yet identified, must have been a permanent resident at Drummond Island and not just a summer visitor. When describing the advent of the first express canoes in May he says "we hail their arrival with almost transports of joy, as we then not only receive letters but have the pleasure of seeing many [people] to whom business calls to this remote and uncivilized place". From this brief hint of boredom and isolation we can well imagine the writer to have been one of the "friendly and intelligent gentlemen of the garrison" who, according to a visitor in 1823, had few military duties to keep them occupied. The visitor, Dr. John Bigsby, wrote in his book *The Shoe and Canoe* that most of the officers tried to pass the time by reading, hunting for fossils, fishing, shooting, cutting down trees, planting potatoes and occasionally rowing to nearby St. Joseph's Island to inspect the few government cattle which grazed there.

Although Assiginack gets relatively scant coverage in the manuscript describing his canoe, a biographical outline can be pieced together from various other sources. Evidence suggests that he was born in 1768 at the Ottawa village of Arbre Croche, near present-day Harbor Springs, Michigan. As a boy, he may have been a pupil at the Sulpician school at Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes (Oka), in Lower Canada, where he acquired the Christian name of Jean-Baptiste after being converted to Catholicism. During the War of 1812, as chief of an Ottawa band, he led a number of warriors to the Niagara peninsula, where he assisted the British in several skirmishes.

Immediately after the War, Assiginack was given his job as "interpreter" at the newly established post on Drummond Island. His summers must have been very busy, as it was in this season that Indians came to the post to receive their annual "presents" from the British crown. The visitors, averaging around 4,500 every year, came from a vast area around the Upper Great Lakes, including parts of present-day Ontario, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Winter was much quieter, with relatively few Indians residing on Drummond Island, and it was probably then that Assiginack found time to do his carving.

Assiginack left Drummond Island in 1827, hoping to help establish a Catholic mission at Arbre Croche. He was disappointed when he found that no priest had been sent there, but nevertheless did some catechizing and preaching of his own. In 1830, he returned to Upper Canada and, at the new headquarters of the British garrison at Penetanguishene, resumed his old job as interpreter with the Indian Department. Six years later he was posted to Manitoulin Island, where the government had decided to gather several scattered tribes and settle them on one large multi-tribal reserve.

During his early years at Manitoulin Island, Assiginack seems to have attracted the attention and praise of several distinguished visitors. One was Anna Brownell Jameson, who witnessed a council meeting at Manitoulin Island in 1837 and described it in her *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. Assiginack, called in this book by his English name Blackbird, was interpreting the speech of the Chief Superintendent. The author declared him the most "celebrated orator of his nation" and referred to one occasion when he had spoken, without intermission, from sunrise to sunset. Oral tradition suggests that this famous speech occurred during the early years of the War of 1812, when Assiginack had persuaded several of his countrymen to take up arms on the side of the British.

Watercolour portrait of Mokomanish, an Ottawa chief depicted in the war party.

Carved figures in the war party show considerable variation in facial features and war paint. This is consistent with the fact that the carvings are said to represent real chiefs and warriors.

In another chapter Jameson reports that Assiginack was "extremely noted for his general good conduct, and his declared enmity to the 'dealers in firewater' ". While she was still at Manitoulin Island, it was learned that a trader from Detroit was hiding in a nearby cove, waiting to peddle a full cargo of whiskey and rum for presents the Indians had just received. At the suggestion of the Superintendent, Assiginack went out with a canoe full of "stout men", boarded the trader and threw all the whiskey into the lake.

Paul Kane, who visited Manitoulin Island in the summer of 1845, refers to Assiginack as both "Sigennok" and Blackbird in his *Wanderings of an Artist*. He describes the chief, whose portrait he painted, as "an acute and intelligent" man, whose "natural eloquence is such that he possesses great influence over his tribe". This gift was especially helpful during the distribution of presents, which Assiginack accomplished with great impartiality. His voice, heard everywhere above the "universal din", seemed to have "the effect of allaying every envious and unpleasant feeling, and keeping all in good humour and proper order".

Assiginack's influence declined with old age and his later years must have been filled with disappointment. In 1862 the Canadian government drew up a treaty which opened Manitoulin Island to white settlement, thus terminating earlier plans to keep it as a large reserve. The treaty caused disagreement among various Indian factions on the island and Assiginack, who was one of the signatories, had to be protected by some of his sons from those who were violently opposed. Stooped and partially blind, he died on 3 November 1866 at the age of 98. Several descendants still live on Manitoulin Island, where a township and a museum have been named in his honour. ♦

J. Garth Taylor is Arctic Ethnologist with the Canadian Ethnology Service, Ottawa.

A Canadian Gadfly

By Robert Saunders

FRANK H. UNDERHILL
Intellectual Provocateur

By R. Douglas Francis. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1986. 219 pp., illus. $27.50.

Until fairly recently, Canadians have tended to distrust the scholar who descends from his ivory tower to mingle in the hurlyburly of politics. Such behavior was considered to be if not actually subversive, at least unseemly, which was very nearly as bad.

We have matured somewhat in the past two or three decades, but in the 1930s and '40s the anti-intellectual tide was still flowing strongly. It is sobering to read the chapter in this biography of the historian Frank Underhill in which Douglas Francis gives a dispassionate but nevertheless chilling account of how Underhill was nearly hounded out of the University of Toronto for daring to believe that the scholar had something to contribute to politics.

Underhill had been regarded with disfavour for some years by those in high places because of the part he had played in the founding of the CCF, but the last straw was a remark he made in a public speech in 1940 to the effect that, whatever the outcome of the war, Britain's power and influence was bound to decline.

Even in the context of 1940, it is hard to see why this statement should have evoked such howls of anger from Ontario politicians and editorial writers. Arthur Meighen even went so far as to suggest to the federal minister of justice that Underhill should be imprisoned.

It is now generally supposed that those in authority at the university stood firm against this pressure but, as Mr. Francis makes clear, Canon H.J. Cody, who was then president of the university, was quite prepared to offer up Underhill as a sacrifice to popular prejudice. What saved Underhill was the support he received from fellow academics from across the North American continent and apprehension in Ottawa over the effect his dismissal might have on public opinion in the still-neutral United States.

Frank Underhill

Underhill was highly respected by most, though not all, of his fellow historians. Until his time, Canadian historical writing had been dominated by the Whig, constitutionalist approach, which can be summarized in the title of A.R.M. Lower's well known book *Colony to Nation.* Underhill supplemented this somewhat cosy and complacent view with his harsher brokerage theory which saw Canadian political parties as puppets of powerful interest groups, an interpretation which, as Mr. Francis points out, has yet to be superseded.

Although widely respected, Underhill had his enemies and detractors even within the academic community and it is not hard to see why. Personally, he was the kindliest and most courteous of men, but in some of his writings, and especially in the many essays he wrote for *Canadian Forum*, he adopted an aggressive, slashing style that could be immensely stimulating but could also raise hackles. He had a gift for the phrase that stung and rankled. There were many in the late 1930s who advocated neutrality for Canada in the coming European war but it was Underhill who was remembered for saying that the poppies of Flanders Fields had no further interest for Canada.

He subjected politicians, especially if they were Tories, to merciless ridicule. Meighen's disciples could not have enjoyed it when their hero was called "the lean and hungry Cassius, the bitter fanatic who lost votes all across the country every time he won a debate in the House." No wonder the humourless Meighen wanted Underhill put in prison. Nor can R.B. Bennett have relished being referred to as "the preposterous Bennett of the booming voice and beetling brows, the lord of the iron heel."

The young and iconoclastic found remarks like these great fun to read but they caused the more sedate and respectable to splutter with indignation, which is no doubt what Underhill intended.

But if he could sometimes clown and caper, Underhill was a careful and serious scholar. His numerous historical essays, written in his clear, vigorous English, can be found scattered through the pages of learned periodicals and popular magazines.

However, as his critics have been eager to point out, Underhill left behind no substantial book apart from a volume, written very early in his career, on the part played by

Canadian troops in the First World War. A biography of Sir Edward Blake was long contemplated but scarcely even begun. The definitive life of Laurier that Underhill would have done so well still awaits a writer.

It was as a teacher, though, that Underhill was at his best. There is a passage in Mr. Francis's biography describing Underhill's mannerisms on the lecture platform and it brings back to mind the Underhill of the late 1940s, his battles with the university behind him, confident, secure and at the height of his powers. He could make even such a supposedly dull subject as the history of political ideas vivid and exciting. Underhill's most lasting legacy may well be the generation of historians he inspired by his enthusiasm and guided by his counsel.

Books on writers and thinkers, if they are at all well done, tend to be more exciting than books about men of action. Mr. Francis's book is exceptionally well done. Perhaps he will now turn his attention to Underhill's colleague and great rival, Donald Creighton.

Robert Saunders, who writes editorials for the Winnipeg Free Press, studied history under Frank Underhill.

Goodbye to the Quiet Court

THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA
History of the Institution

By James Snell and Frederick Vaughan. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1985. 319 pp., illus. $17.50 paper.

By Peter Calamai

By any yardstick, the Supreme Court of Canada was a disappointing failure for most of its first century. It was not supreme; it was not respected; it was misused. Worse, it was inconsequential. Many historians have written about national affairs between Confederation and the Second World War without mentioning the Supreme Court. Imagine a historian doing the same in the United States.

This failure — and the underlying reasons — pervade the first ever general history of the court by James Snell and Frederick Vaughan, respectively historian and political scientist at the University of Guelph.

Neither author is a professor of law, an initial recommendation before even opening the volume. The role of the Supreme Court as an institution is our concern; all too often, legal experts chart the juristic reasoning but ignore the social and political context.

If possible, the authors err in the other extreme, providing little insight about the jurisprudence that began filling the law reports once the Supreme Court was created in 1875. There's also not enough effort to explain legal terminology, such as *stare decisis* and *per saltam*, and no effort to even sketch the real people behind some of the court's decisions that are (or ought to be) household words, such as The Persons Case, in which the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in 1928 that women were not persons and thus not entitled to be senators.

Yet in its main theme — the institutional failure of the Supreme Court — this is a comprehensive and fine volume.

Sir John A. Macdonald initially conceived of the court as another strong, centralizing influence; in particular, he wanted the final court of appeal mentioned in the British North America Act to guarantee some uniformity in a confederated criminal justice system where the provinces individually enforced the laws passed by the federal Parliament.

To ensure this, the Macdonald government in 1888 stopped criminal appeals from Canada to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. Yet the Supreme Court's own criminal jurisdiction was increasingly restricted from 1876 onwards and finally reduced to only rare cases after 1892. From then until 1960, the provincial courts of appeal alone decided the criminal law of Canada, and often differed.

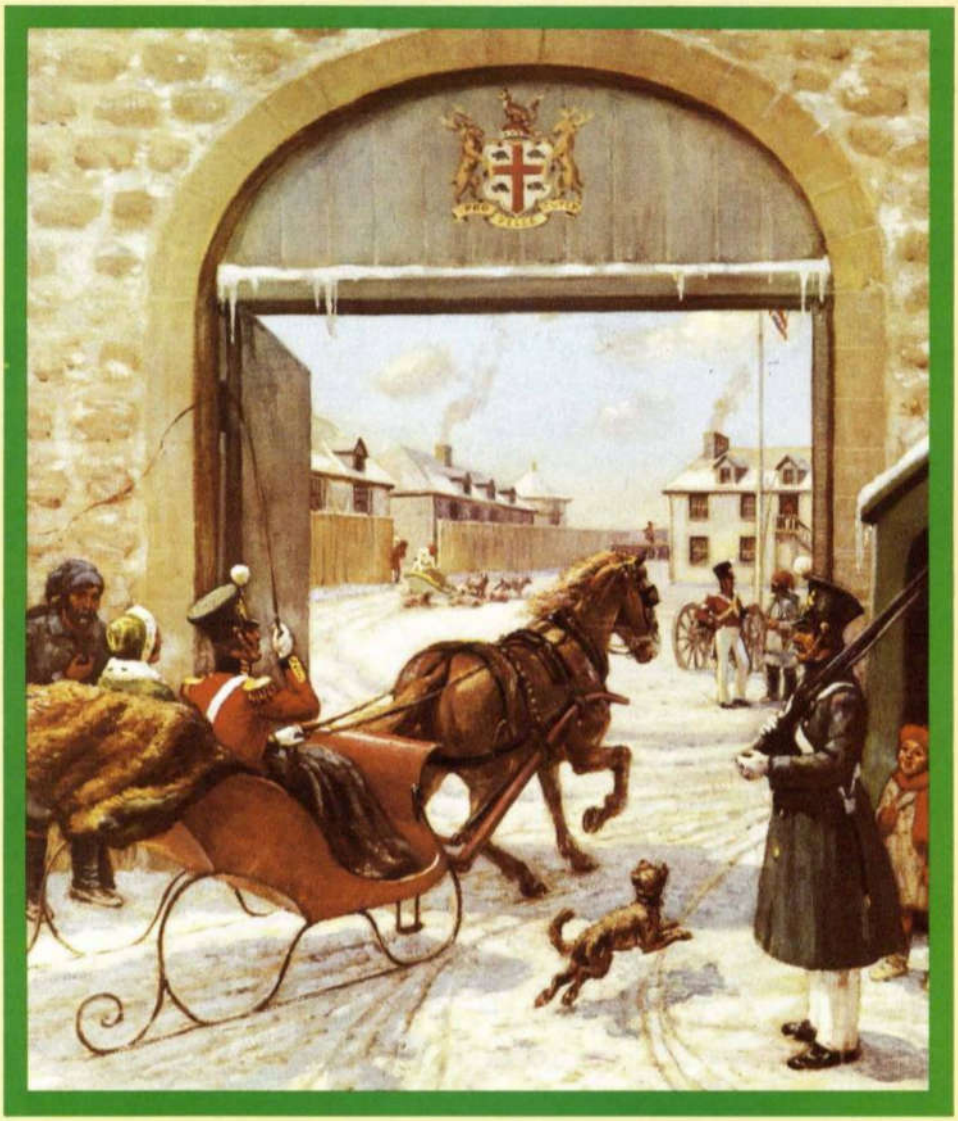
The contradiction typifies the pattern documented by Snell and Vaughan: bold promises followed by benign neglect. Canada had a Supreme Court because such an institution was expected in every sovereign nation but it was an institution without a clear role.

We didn't really trust our own judges. For real authority, we looked to one of the most successful (and least costly) instruments of Britain's continuing imperial control — the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The British made the fetters comfortable by appointing Canadians like Sir Lyman Poore Duff to the committee.

The authors' thesis is that the conservatism and strict literal interpretation of the law that so dominated the first century of our Supreme Court can be traced, most of all, to its supremacy in name only. Until 1949 — nearly two decades after nationhood was formalized by the Statute of Westminster — Canadians could appeal to "the foot of the sovereign's throne" from a ruling of the Supreme Court or, without even going to the Supreme Court, from a provincial court of appeal.

"The justices felt themselves to be simply unable to develop the law in significant new directions; any such initiative lay with the senior appellate body. In the meantime, precedents would be binding for the Canadian judges. The advantage of

The Beaver for Christmas



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such a line of reasoning was the stability and security it gave to the law."

The disadvantage was that Canada's highest judges spent much of their time being second-guessed. Between 1910 and 1919, the judicial committee heard 133 Canadian appeals, nearly two-thirds of these direct from provincial appellate courts. And in the 48 appeals from the decisions of the Supreme Court in that same decade, the British law lords overturned Canada's highest court nearly half the time.

A minor-league court cannot attract or hold major-league talent. The best legal brains in Canada (Eugene Lafleur, Edward Blake) repeatedly turned down offers to become Chief Justice and from 1903 to 1962, no provincial Chief Justice could be enticed to join the Supreme Court.

Successive prime ministers — many of them lawyers — misused the court as a dumping ground for their political cronies and abused the justices as political fixers by appointing them as royal commissioners or even, in Duff's case, as the sanctifying symbol for conscription.

The court was also abysmally accommodated, first in makeshift rooms in the Senate, then in a former stable with air so fetid that (the authors speculate) the atmosphere may have warped judicial reasoning. And then there was the monkish existence in decidedly provincial Ottawa which prompted more than one justice to fiddle with the court's scheduling in order to escape earlier and longer.

The upshot resembles one of those laboratory rat boxes perfected by B.F. Skinner. The Supreme Court of Canada was conditioned to be deferential, conservative, unimaginative, second-rate. It was a product of its legal culture and times.

And yet, there were exceptions. Individuals like John Idington, a judge from 1905 until 1927 who was known as the "wit" of the court.

When the Supreme Court upheld a Saskatchewan law banning the employment of white women in businesses managed by "Chinamen", it was Idington's solitary dissent which pointed out the true racist assault on civil liberties. Idington alone warned that the procedure of governments referring questions imposed a dangerous political function on the court (Mackenzie King made 14 references to the Supreme Court.) A lonely dissent by Idington protested that Parliament could not retroactively strip away the rights of an appellant in a temperance test case.

Edward Blake: Not tempted.

The Supreme Court also shucked off its "conditioning" in the 1950s with a series of truly innovative civil liberties judgments. But the inherent conservatism returned, the authors suggest, in the dead hand which the judges laid on Diefenbaker's Bill of Rights in the 1960s.

Is it only history now? Since 1949, the Supreme Court has been the final judicial forum for Canadians; since 1975, it has increasingly become sole master of its docket; since 1982, it has become supreme over legislatures because of the Charter.

"Only one thing is certain," note Snell and Vaughan, "the prologue is over. The Supreme Court has achieved a degree of institutional independence and a broad mandate unequalled by any other judicial body in the Western world."

Goodbye to the quiet court in the quiet land.

Peter Calamai is an Ottawa-based correspondent for Southam News Services. He specializes in stories dealing with the Supreme Court.

Exploring the West Coast

THE VOYAGE OF GEORGE VANCOUVER 1791-1795

Edited and with an Introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1984. 1752 pp, illus. and maps. Second Series, vols. 163-166. £50 for set of 4 volumes (£40 to members; free to subscribers at date of issue). Subscriptions to the Society may be had by writing to the Administrative Assistant, Hakluyt Society, c/o The Map Library, The British Library, Great Russell St., London, WC1B 3DG. The annual subscription is £15.

By Don Wetherell

Since 1847 the Hakluyt Society has issued many distinguished editions of voyages of travel and exploration. Its publication for 1984 and 1985, *The Voyage of George Vancouver 1791-1795*, is another in this long series. W.K. Lamb, the former Head of the Public Archives of Canada, has produced the first annotated edition of Vancouver's journal of his exploration of the Pacific coast of North America. The journal first appeared in three volumes in 1789 and subsequent versions have been published, but this is the first complete, annotated volume to appear.

And a fine edition it is. It is illustrated with facsimiles of original illustrations and maps as well as with modern maps when necessary. The annotations of the text are extensive but concise. And Lamb has written a highly competent and useful introduction to the journal which achieves what a good introduction should: it provides the needed historical context and it explains and amplifies the major events described in the text. Lamb also attempts to explain and provide some balance to the traditional view of Vancouver as a cold and oftentimes harsh man whose personality in part contributed to harsh disciplinary acts during the voyage; acts that were to haunt the few years that Vancouver lived after the completion of his great journey and that have continued to haunt his reputation to this day.

Perhaps because of his personality, Vancouver has not become one of the popular figures of 18th century exploration. But his importance is unquestionable and it is therefore surprising that his journal has only so recently been subject to the scholarly attention that Lamb has provided. Vancouver's charting of the Northwest coast of North America stands as the first great and generally successful attempt to survey comprehensively the geography of what must surely be one of the most complicated coastlines in the world.

Vancouver's voyage was framed by Britain's increasing interest in the Pacific during the late 18th century; an interest that was quickened by Cook's three great voyages around the world between 1768 and 1780. As Lamb explains, both Cook's third voyage and Vancouver's expedition aimed to provide more precise knowledge about the northwestern coast of North America. In 1774 the Admiralty learned of Hearne's travels to the mouth of the Coppermine River, and this knowledge served to redirect the search for the Northwest Passage. Accordingly, Cook was instructed to find the Pacific outlet of a possible passage through the northern latitudes of the continent. Since Cook's survey of 1778 was only a superficial one, however, Vancouver was later given the task of charting the coast to find the entrance to the passage should it exist.

As Lamb notes, however, Vancouver's voyage aimed not only to expand geographical knowledge. It was also founded upon a realization of the region's potential economic value, especially in furs. Yet Lamb contends that, overall, this objective has been overdrawn by many historians and that other wider, and perhaps more important, British objectives justified the voyage. Especially important were the protection of the whale fishery in the South Pacific and, above all, the establishment of international, that is British, access to the Pacific and the Pacific Coast of North America. And both objectives required that Spain's "blanket claim to sovereignty" of the coast north of California be upset. This had partly been achieved with the signing of the Nootka Convention of 1790, but British objectives still required detailed and formal surveys of the coast. There were, of course, other interests that saw British claims to access to the northwest coast as important. Alexander Dalrymple, for example, saw British control of the coast as a means both to protect the Hudson's Bay Company's position in the interior of the continent and to provide an opportunity for the Company to become involved in the coastal and Pacific trade. The objectives of the expedition thus served a wide number of interests and priorities.

Vancouver's track to the Pacific Northwest took him around the Cape and across the Pacific. While his journal includes commentary on the South Pacific islands, the heart of it deals with the North American Pacific coastal surveys. These surveys occupied Vancouver for the most part and the quality of his charts are testament to his skill as a surveyor. These surveys began just north of San Francisco Bay and the

resulting charts were the first accurate and detailed maps to show the full complexity of the coast. Even so, Vancouver has not been spared criticism: his surveys ignored rivers; the Fraser and the Columbia, for example, do not appear on his maps. But as Lamb observes, such criticisms are unfair. Vancouver had been instructed to ignore any inlets or rivers not navigable by sea-going ships, an instruction clearly in keeping with the objective of finding the outlet of a possible northwestern passage through the continent.

The importance of Vancouver's journal lies primarily in recording the accomplishment of a great feat of map making and surveying. But it is also important as an early European record of native life and of the landscape of the Pacific Northwest in the late 18th century. As such, it

George Vancouver

stands as one of the important documents about this coastal society at the beginning of European contact.

This edition of Vancouver's voyage is an important contribution to both the historical writing about the Pacific Northwest and to the record of 18th century exploration. It also serves as a fine complement to other recent Hakluyt Society volumes dealing with the Cook voyages for, together, the journals of Cook and Vancouver record two of the greatest maritime explorations of the 18th century. And, for anyone interested in the general history of 18th century exploration or the history of British Columbia, this is the definitive edition of Vancouver's journal. It will stand for many years as the landmark edition of Vancouver's record of his explorations of the British Columbia coast.

Don Wetherell operates a historical resources consulting firm in Edmonton, Alberta.

Treasures of the Earth

By D. M. Treilhard

HARVEST FROM THE ROCK
A History of Mining in Ontario

By Philip Smith. Macmillan, Toronto, 1986. 346 pp., illus. $32.95.

The history of mining in Canada has been neglected to a surprising extent given the central role the industry has played in the development of the country. D.M. LeBourdais' *Metals and Men* is the only general history of the industry. Published in 1957, it is many years out of date.

Recently, a number of new books have been added to the slim shelf of writings about Canadian mining. Of these, one of the more noteworthy is Philip Smith's *Harvest from the Rock*. This book was commissioned by the Ontario Ministry of Northern Development and Mines and was written with the general reader in mind. It is relatively free of the predictable biases of corporate-financed chronicles and the circumscribed content of personal memoirs.

Unlike the authors of most other comparable texts published on Canada's mining history, Philip Smith has no direct links with the industry. A journalist who was for fifteen years a writer and editor for the mass-circulation *Weekend Magazine*, and the author of four books, Smith takes the refreshing approach of an outsider with liberal views.

Smith's work is the first to give more than cursory attention to the common miner and the union movement. He deals with the 1907 Cobalt miners' strike for a uniform wage scale, the 1912 Porcupine strike for the eight hour day, and the 1941 Kirkland Lake strike which is credited with forcing the Ontario government to introduce the Collective Bargaining Act of 1943.

Smith gives the reader a passing introduction to some aspects of geology before launching into the history of mining in Ontario from the late 18th century up to the discovery of gold in the Hemlo area in the 1980s. He conjures up the romance of prospecting with stories about people like Gilbert LaBine who started his career at a Cobalt silver mine and eventually became one of the most successful men in the mining community. With profiles of businessmen like Harry Oakes of Kirkland Lake, the reader is given a sense of the near-religious faith that is sometimes needed to bring in a mine.

Among those subjects given special attention are the role of government legislation in shaping the industry, the importance of railroads in facilitating new discoveries, and the growing concern over health and safety in the underground

workplace. Appended to the main body of the text are intriguing snippets of information which include such items as the origin of place names (for instance, Winnie Lake and Kirkland Lake were named after Ms. Winifred Kirkland, a demonstrably popular government secretary) and the background to such industry institutions as the *Northern Miner* newspaper and the Prospectors and Developers Association.

Smith's very readable text is adequately illustrated with four maps and a good number of black and white photographs. As befits a popular history there is only a scattering of footnotes. The bibliography barely fills two pages — a fact which graphically illustrates the paucity of published titles on the subject. Smith has made the inclusion of a glossary unnecessary by carefully avoiding the over-use of terms peculiar to the industry.

Philip Smith tells a lively and well-balanced story. *Harvest from the Rock* makes rewarding study for those interested in either the mining industry or the settlement and economic development of Ontario.

D.M. Treilhard has published numerous articles on Canadian mining, in The Beaver and elsewhere.

HBC Inter-Library Loans

The Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, has announced the establishment of an inter-library loan program of the Company's microfilmed records. Approximately 1,900 reels of 35mm microfilm are now available through libraries and archives which have microfilm readers and are willing to participate in the loan program. Requests for reels can be made using any recognized inter-library loan request form, or through the Envoy Messaging System, Code: HBCA.PAM.

Microfilmed records of particular interest to environmental scientists, researchers in the humanities, and compilers of family histories include the journals and correspondence of over 200 trading posts for the period 1703-1904; the pre-1870 records of the Governors of Rupert's Land; numerous journals of travel and exploration 1703-1904; Minute Books and Correspondence of the London Headquarters 1671-1904; and lists of officers, servants and contracts 1774-1904.

A finding aid for the inter-library loan program, produced on two reels of microfilm has been deposited in a number of Canadian university libraries, legislative libraries, and provincial archives.

Records now being microfilmed include the Commissioner's Office in Canada 1871-1910, which will be added to the inter-library loan program when filming is completed.

Further information is available from Inter-Library Loans, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3C 1T5, Telephone: (204) 945-4949.

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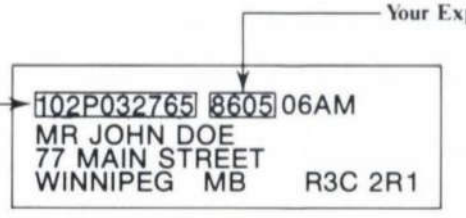
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THE PACKET

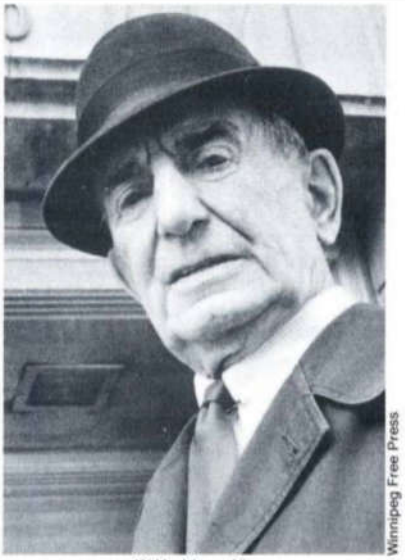
Letters to and from The Editor

Light on the Past: A Letter from the Editor

How many letters do you write in a year? How many letters do you receive? For most of us, I suspect, the answer is "very few". This age is not much given to putting pen to paper. Today, more and more, people communicate, if they communicate at all, by telephone or telex. Unless your telephone is bugged by the RCMP or the CIA, much of what you have to say will escape the notice of posterity. It is unlikely that your collected telexes will ever be published between hard covers and it is even less likely that your recorded telephone calls will ever be gratefully accepted by a library or archive. We pass this way but once and when most of us depart there will be little trace of our passage.

The nineteenth century was the golden age of correspondence. Educated people — and even some who could barely spell — seemed to regard letter writing as a normal and necessary function, like breathing. Before the invention of the telephone letters were often exchanged on a daily basis, and not only by people who found themselves separated by great distance. In those days people often found the time to exchange daily letters with people living on the next street. In the larger cities mail delivery was frequent and efficient and it was possible, in many places, to send off a dinner invitation in the morning and expect to see the guests arrive at the appointed hour.

Even when the mails were erratic and when it took months for a letter to reach its destination half way around the world, lively correspondences were maintained, as Ruth Buck indicates in her article on pioneer mails in this issue of *The Beaver*.



Winnipeg Free Press

W.H. Metcalfe

The Victorians were prolific letter writers. It has been estimated, for example, that Bernard Shaw wrote over a quarter of a million letters during his long lifetime. Only a fraction of them have been published, but even the selection made from Shaw's correspondence by Dan H. Laurence has run to three thick volumes, with a fourth on the way.

Letters, journals (how many of you are keeping a journal?) and other written documents are among the materials used by historians to cast light on the past. Will historians of the future have the written materials they need to illuminate a vision of life as it was lived in the latter part of the twentieth century?

The twenty first century historian who looks back to our age for his special study may well envy his colleagues who specialize in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There will be collections of letters and some journals available to him, but the pickings, I suspect, will be lean.

While letters and journals may be scarce, people are still writing autobiographies and memoirs, many of which will be increasingly valuable as the years go by. The memoir that seems commonplace to us today may cast a beam of light into the darkness for some future historian.

Many of the famous can hardly be restrained from writing their memoirs and autobiographies and some are so pleased with themselves that they hardly wait to pass the age of 30 before putting pen to paper or consulting a "ghost". Max Beerbohm, who loved a joke, wrote his memoirs before the age of 25.

The lives of the famous are bound to be well-documented — if not entirely accurate in the recollection — but more important in the long run, I suspect, are the memoirs and life stories of the less celebrated. Indeed, we ordinary people should be encouraged to set down our recollections. No life is totally without interest and many are fascinating and instructive. Portions of the past live on in the memories of old men and women. What they recall may someday illuminate a corner of the past for some as yet unborn scholar.

William H. Metcalfe may not have been thinking of posterity when he wrote and published *The View From Thirty: A Veteran Newsman Files His Last Dispatch*. The book is a fascinating account of a busy and useful life in Canadian journalism over 40 years and more and will be of particular interest to friends and former colleagues of the author, but this small volume has a value beyond that as well. It gives a sharp and vivid picture of a period in Canadian history from the late twenties to the present as viewed at

ground level by an astute and observant newsman.

Written in a warm, conversational style, Metcalfe's recollections bring a lost era back to life. There are stories, as well, that appear on the public record for the first time, including tasty material on Diefenbaker, Pearson and other political figures encountered during Metcalfe's years as an editor in Ottawa. William Metcalfe was active during a lively and interesting period. He worked for the CBC when the radio network was developing its first national news service, he was a reporter and a senior editor at the *Winnipeg Free Press* during times of great upheaval and he has some revealing things to say about events and personalities that contributed to the demise of two important Canadian newspapers.

Unable to interest a Canadian publisher, William Metcalfe published his memoirs himself, an act for which he should be applauded. Others should follow his good example. "I'm sure," he writes, "I could have found a publisher if I had waited. But at 80 a person can't afford much waiting. So I did the job myself and I'm glad I did."

The View From Thirty can be obtained at selected bookshops in Canada and by writing to Wm. H. Metcalfe, Publisher, 802 - 234 Ronald Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3J 3J4.

Christopher Dafoe

Readers of The Beaver will recall Robert McGhee's fascinating article Relics of an Arctic Life (The Beaver, January/February 1986) in which he described the recent discovery of a cache of items believed to have belonged to an Inuk hunter, Kangualuk, and his family who disappeared in the area near Piling Bay on Baffin Island over 40 years ago. A number of readers have written with further information on Kangualuk and the items in the cache (photographs, tools, postcards, a telescope, etc.) and now C. Murray Dean of Napanee, Ontario, has sent us a photograph of the unfortunate hunter (Mr. Dean spells the name "Kungwalook") and his son taken at Cape Dorset in the winter of 1942-43. Mr. Dean writes that the lost hunter traded at Cape Dorset, where Dean was an apprentice clerk, in the winter of that year.

Reindeer

I have read the interesting letter from Froelich Rainey in "The Packet" (*The Beaver,* April/May 1986) and would like to add a footnote to his paragraph about reindeer in Alaska.

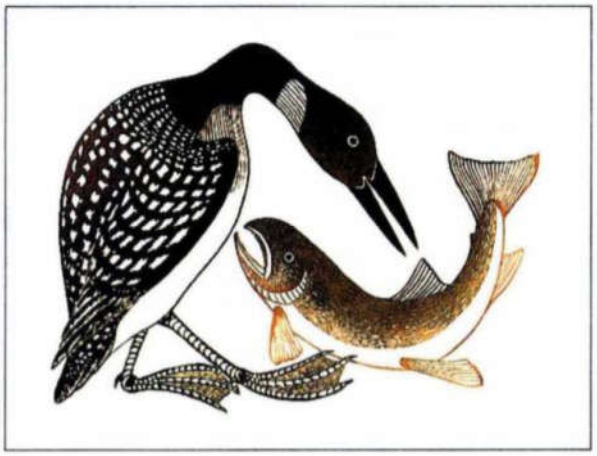
Domesticated reindeer were not introduced into Alaska to feed stranded sailors near Point Barrow, an event of 1897, but were introduced for the first time in 1892 to "save the Eskimos from starvation," a project developed and implemented by Sheldon Jackson, Presbyterian missionary and first general agent of education for Alaska.

From 1892 until 1902 a total of 1,280 reindeer were purchased from various Chukchi owners in Siberia and deposited at the Teller Reindeer Station on Seward Peninsula, but the herds grew through increment of fawns. By 1895, when no Eskimo had become owner of a herd, as promised by Jackson, Antisarlook, one of the station helpers, was loaned a hundred deer "as evidence of good faith," but only two years later, in 1897, his entire herd was borrowed by Jackson to drive to Point Barrow, a distance of 800 miles, to "save the whalers" who had been beset by ice.

Begun as a noble effort of humanitarianism with the involvement of officers of the revenue steamer *Bear,* the reindeer drivers, and the unselfishness of Antisarlook, the drive to Point Barrow ended as a ridiculous venture. By the time the *Bear* had arrived in the southern part of Alaska at the edge of the ice and the reindeer had reached their destination, almost four months had elapsed, and the whalers no longer needed the reindeer for food, having obtained all they wanted from their own ships' stores and Eskimo hunters.

Dorothy Jean Ray,
Port Townsend, Washington

"The Loon and the Fish" by Kananginak



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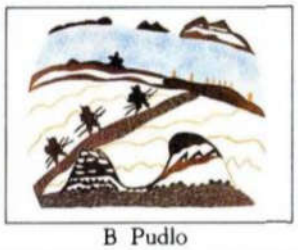

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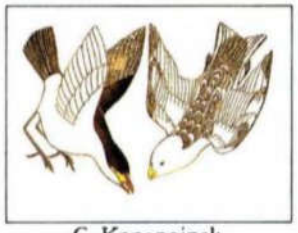

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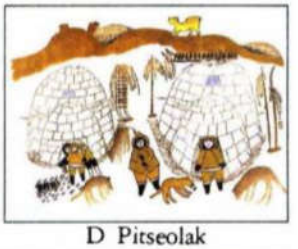

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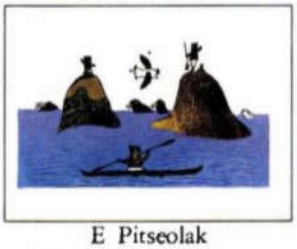

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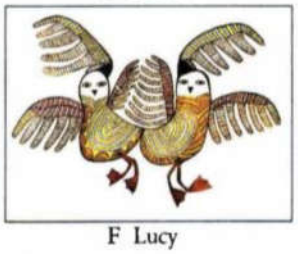

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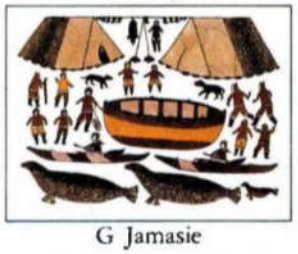

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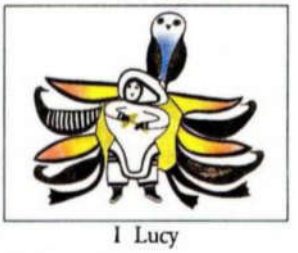

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